

JPRS 70541

25 January 1978

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1498

Reproduced From  
Best Available Copy

**DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A**  
Approved for Public Release  
Distribution Unlimited

20000202 140

**U. S. JOINT PUBLICATIONS RESEARCH SERVICE**

REPRODUCED BY  
**NATIONAL TECHNICAL  
INFORMATION SERVICE**  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE  
SPRINGFIELD, VA. 22161

**EAST**

**EUROPE**

#### NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

#### PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22151. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available through Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio, 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

<b>BIBLIOGRAPHIC DATA SHEET</b>	1. Report No. JPRS 70541	2.	3. Recipient's Accession No.
4. Title and Subtitle TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE - POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS, No. 1498		5. Report Date 25 January 1978	
7. Author(s)		6.	
9. Performing Organization Name and Address Joint Publications Research Service 1000 North Glebe Road Arlington, Virginia 22201		8. Performing Organization Rept. No.	
		10. Project/Task/Work Unit No.	
		11. Contract/Grant No.	
12. Sponsoring Organization Name and Address  As above		13. Type of Report & Period Covered	
		14.	
15. Supplementary Notes			
16. Abstracts  The serial report contains articles on official party and government pronouncements and writings on significant domestic political developments; information on general sociological problems and developments in such areas as demography, manpower, public health and welfare, education, and mass organizations; and articles on military and civil defense, organization, theory, budgets, and hardware.			
17. Key Words and Document Analysis. 17a. Descriptors			
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> International Affairs <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Albania <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Bulgaria <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Czechoslovakia <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> East Germany <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Hungary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Poland <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Romania <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yugoslavia		Propaganda Political Science Sociology Military Organizations	
17b. Identifiers/Open-Ended Terms			
17c. COSATI Field/Group 5D, 5K, 15			
18. Availability Statement Unlimited Availability Sold by NTIS Springfield, Virginia 22151		19. Security Class (This Report) UNCLASSIFIED	21. No. of Pages 138
		20. Security Class (This Page) UNCLASSIFIED	22. Price

25 January 1978

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1498

CONTENTS

PAGE

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

## Briefs

GDR Leaders Congratulate Brezhnev, Kosygin	1
Polish Anniversary Greetings to Romania	1

## ALBANIA

Party Policy for Improving Living Conditions Hailed (Nezhdet Hoxha, Burim Hysi; RRUGA E PARTISE, Sep 77) ..	2
Class Struggle Strengthens Party Unity (Jorgji Sota; RRUGA E PARTISE, Sep 77) .....	15
Anti-Marxist Nature of Yugoslav Self-Management System (Omer Hashorva; RRUGA E PARTISE, Sep 77) .....	28
Foreign Visitors Laud Albanian Successes (SHQIPTARJA E RE, Nov 77) .....	41
Delegations of Foreign Visitors Contribution to World Marxist-Leninist Movement, by Karen Wagner	
Attack on 'Three Worlds Theory' Continues in Press (ZERI I POPULLIT, various dates) .....	43
Dangers in Economic Sphere, by Deko Rusi Dangers in Ideological Sphere, by Shpresa Zenelaj	
Theories of 'Independence' of Mass Organizations Condemned (Xhorxhi Robo; ZERI I POPULLIT, 7 Sep 77) .....	46
Unjustified Absences From Lower-Level Party Meetings Condemned (Mehmet Elezi; ZERI I POPULLIT, 17 Nov 77) .....	47



CONTENTS (Continued)	Page
'Isolation' of Albania From World Denied (Dhimiter S. Shuteriqi; ZERI I POPULLIT, 26 Nov 77) ...	49
BULGARIA	
Bulgarian Army Daily Reviews Iraqi-Bulgarian Talks (Ivan Undzhiev; NARODNA ARMIYA, 7 Jan 78) .....	50
BCP Daily Reports Opening of Bulgarian-Iraqi Talks (RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 5 Jan 78) .....	52
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	
Jiri Hajek Assesses Prague Spring, Charter 77 (Jiri Hajek Interview; DER SPIEGEL, 2 Jan 78) .....	53
Jakes: Discusses Function of Control Commissions (Milos Jakes; ZIVOT STRANY, Nov 77) .....	61
EAST GERMANY	
West German Commentary on GDR Political Climate (Peter Jochen Winters; DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV, Dec 77) ....	68
Reasons for Criminality in Developed Socialist Society Analyzed (Various sources, various dates) .....	74
West German Commentary East Berlin Criminal Law Experts' Discussion, by Walter Hennig, John Lekschas	
Increase in Per Capita Car Ownership Noted (Karl-Heinz Gerstner; East Berlin Domestic Service, 14 Jan 78) .....	86
Briefs	
Yugoslav Party Delegation	87
Civil Defense Conference	87
Murdered NCO Commemorated	87
Neto Reception of GDR Ambassador	87
British CP Leader Congratulated	88
Chilean Committee in GDR	88
GDR-Indian Agreement	88
Availability of Religious Literature	88

CONTENTS (Continued)	Page
HUNGARY	
'NOVOYE VREMYA' on Eurocommunism Reviewed (MAGYAR HIRLAP, 12 Jan 78) .....	89
True Symbolism of Crown Restored (Istvan Nemeskurty; ELET ES IRODALOM, 7 Jan 78) .....	91
Regulations for Marriages to Foreigners Elucidated (Eva Bedecs; MAGYARORSZAG, 18 Dec 77) .....	93
POLAND	
Importance of February Local Elections Discussed (Bronislaw Tronski; ZYCIE WARSZAWY, 10 Nov 77) .....	96
Legal Sanctions for Culpable Inefficiency Viewed (Adam Jozefowicz; PRAWO I ZYCIE, 30 Oct 77) .....	98
ROMANIA	
U.S. War College Study Reviewed by Former Ambassador (Corneliu Bogdan; REVISTA ROMANA DE STUDII INTERNATIONALE, No 4, 1977) .....	103
German-Language Book on Romanian History Recommended (Iohana Henning; INVATAMINTUL LICEAL, Dec 77).....	109
Briefs Ceaurescu Condolences to Husayn .....	111
YUGOSLAVIA	
Human Rights of Macedonians in Bulgaria Violated (Vasil Topurkovski; SABOTA, 10 Dec 77) .....	112
Weekly Deplores 'Strained, Convoluted' Statements (Miodrag Marovic; NIN, 25 Dec 77) .....	123
Croatian Official Interviewed on Proposed Religious Law (Ivan Lalic Interview; Zagreb Domestic Service, 23 Dec 77) .....	125

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

GDR LEADERS CONGRATULATE BREZHNEV, KOSYGIN--Berlin--Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Will Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, have sent a telegram of congratulations on the latest USSR pioneering space achievement. The telegram addressed to Leonid Brezhnev and Aleksey Kosygin notes: "We watched with great pleasure and attention the docking of three space vehicles, the first such event in space history, and the setting up of a unified scientific research complex in space." The Soyuz-Salyut complex and the scientific and economic [as received] tasks carried out "are proof of the high level of achievement and of the dynamic development of Soviet science, technology and the economy. They open fresh prospects for the further opening up and peaceful use of space in the interests of the building of communism to the advantage of mankind." [Text] [East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1820 GMT 17 Jan 78 LD]

POLISH ANNIVERSARY GREETINGS TO ROMANIA--Warsaw, 29 Dec PAP--Polish leaders Edward Gierek, Henryk Jablonski and Piotr Jaroszewicz today sent a congratulatory message to their Romanian counterparts in which they conveyed friendly greetings and best wishes on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the proclamation of the Socialist Republic of Romania. The message, addressed to Nicolae Ceausescu and Manea Manescu, says the Polish nation is glad to see the economic, social and cultural achievements of the republic made under the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party. We express hope, the message goes on, that the fraternal friendship and comprehensive cooperation of our parties, states, and nations will continue to expand and get enriched in the interest of both countries and for the benefit of peace and socialism. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1822 GMT 29 Dec 77 LD]

CSO: 2020

ALBANIA

PARTY POLICY FOR IMPROVING LIVING CONDITIONS HAILED

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albania No 9, Sep 77 pp 35-47

[Article by Nezhdet Hoxha and Burim Hysi: "The Party Has Pursued and Is Pursuing a Correct Policy in Raising the People's Welfare"]

[Text] The successes achieved during the years of the people's rule in developing and deepening the socialist revolution in all fields show the greatness of the correct revolutionary policy pursued by our party for converting Albania from a thoroughly backward agricultural country into a country with advanced industry and agriculture, a country in which the material and cultural level of the working masses and all the people has been raised and is constantly being raised. This has its origin in the very nature of our socialist order, in the action of the objective economic laws of socialism and, above all, the fundamental economic law of socialism.

1. The development of socialist production is directly subject to the realization of the political and economic interests of the workers, the constant elevation of their welfare. The socialist economy and welfare are closely tied to one another. There can be no welfare for the broad working masses outside the development of the economy along the road of socialism. Precisely for this reason, the fundamental economic law of socialism, which has as its chief requirement the insurance of the growing material and cultural needs of all society, presents itself always as a law of the incessant development of socialist production. But the fundamental economic law of socialism shows the necessity and ways of elevating welfare, while their application in practice depends upon the party's policy, upon how welfare is understood in theory and how it is enforced in practice by the class party in power.

Marxist-Leninist theory and the experience in building socialism in our country show that in the first phase of the communist society, in socialism, the operation of the fundamental economic law depends upon and is conditioned by the level of development of the productive forces, the degree of maturity attained by the socialist relationships in production, the requirements of the prospective development of the country's economy in reliance on our own forces, upon the international situation and the tasks

for the strengthening of the country's defensive capability to insure the victories won in the construction of the socialist society.

Knowing and taking into account these characteristics, in which the fundamental economic law operates along with the other economic laws of socialism, is of great importance for the fate of socialism, in understanding and correctly reflecting the requirements of that law in applying the party's economic policy, in the planned development of the economy and in educating the working masses in the Marxist-Leninist world outlook on life, work, socialist welfare, the strengthening of the country's defensive capacity, and so forth. In all its activity, our party has never viewed nor does it now view welfare in a onesided manner isolated from the concrete conditions under which the fundamental economic law of socialism operates, but always in close conjunction with those objective and subjective conditions, with the concrete conditions in each stage of development of the socialist society, with the need for the rapid development of the productive forces in order to build the material-technical base of socialism, viewing welfare not only for today, but also for the future, not just for some, but for all the members of the socialist society, not just for the city, but also for the countryside, not only for the plains areas, but also for the hill and mountain districts.

Only such a Marxist-Leninist treatment of welfare is a guarantee for the construction of socialism with firm strides. "The party," Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, "has always viewed the construction of socialism and the elevation of the material welfare and cultural level of the workers as a single indivisible question in its daily policy and activity. It has fought and will fight to constantly improve the people's welfare within the possibilities of our conditions, proceeding always from a correct revolutionary Marxist-Leninist understanding of welfare under socialism--not to satisfy petty-bourgeois whims, but to fill the present and future material, cultural and spiritual needs, the needs for services and health; in other words, the needs governing the lives of all the people, in all their daily economic and social variety." (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 5th Party Congress, p 70).

Giving this socialist meaning to welfare, our party has fought and is fighting to elevate the people's welfare incessantly. It has combined and is combining personal interests correctly with the social interests, partial interests with the general, today's interests with those of the prospective future, always giving priority to the general and prospective social interests. These are the reasons why the party, in its economic policy, has aimed primarily at filling the needs for expanded socialist reproduction, strengthening the country's independence, reinforcing the dictatorship of the proletariat and the country's defense capacity, and filling the people's needs ever better in reliance on the country's resources and forces. All these things have been taken together as a unit, since the more and the better socialist production is developed, the stronger will be the economic independence, the dictatorship of the

proletariat and the defense of the fatherland, the more strongly guaranteed will be the socialist economic-social development at a high and stable rate and the better guaranteed will be the possibility of improving the living conditions of the working masses. Therefore, the party's economic policy in the field of welfare incarnates the revolutionary concept of self-reliance, that welfare is grounded on the work and sweat of the working people, that it is not given by others as alms and concessions. Herein lies the ideological, political, economic and social meaning of the uninterrupted increase in material production as a secure basis for the general and systematic growth in the people's welfare.

By this Marxist-Leninist path, in the interest of the working class and socialist construction, a sound base for the production of the means of production and for the production of consumer articles has gradually been created. It is a great success of the correct economic policy of our party that the rate of material production has been and remains also in this five-year plan about three times higher than that of the increase in population, and this under conditions in which the increase in our population has the highest average rate in Europe and one of the highest in the world. Today over 85 percent of the people's needs for consumer goods are filled by domestic products. On the basis of the incessant growth in social production, the structure of the people's consumption has grown continually and has improved.

The party has attached and is attaching special importance to establishing a correct relationship between the accumulation fund and the consumption fund, by increasing the accumulation fund at a higher rate than the consumption fund. Thus, the 25.6 percent which was the norm of accumulation in the First Five-Year Plan (1951-1955) reached 35.8 percent in the Fifth Five-Year Plan (1971-1975). In the same time, the rate of growth of the consumption fund was over 2.4 times higher than that of the increase in population. The maintenance of a relatively high accumulation norm has been and is dictated by the need for intensive development of social production, since socialist accumulation is the sole source for expanded socialist production. The accumulation fund forms the material base for filling the growing needs of the people and the economy at present and in the prospective future. Under the conditions of rapid development of the heavy industry and intensification of social production as a whole, which demand large sources of accumulation, the growth of the accumulation fund at a higher rate than the consumption fund is an objective necessity responding to the real conditions. The party, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed, could not and cannot act otherwise, sacrificing the general and prospective interests for the sake of certain interests of the moment and braking the development of the productive forces. If we reduced the rate of accumulation and increased that of consumption still more, this would have serious consequences for the country's general development, for the rise in welfare in the future itself, and for the strengthening of the defensive capacity of our socialist fatherland, and so for the stability and guaranteeing of that welfare. As a result of the constant

pursuance of this Marxist-Leninist course, our people's economy has developed and is developing at a high and stable rate, making the people's lives ever better and happier. Taking the year 1950 as a basis of comparison, the total social product and the national income have risen at an annual average rate of 8-10 percent. In 1975 the total social product rose 16 times over 1938, 9 times over 1950, and 2.8 times over 1960.

Along with the development of the productive forces, the socialist relations in production have also been perfected. The development and strengthening of socialist property in its two forms has improved the relations in distribution as a whole as well as those in the distribution of the product per person in particular, in keeping with the conditions created on the path of socialist construction in our country. Our party has always tried to see to it that distribution, on the one hand, fills the growing needs for expanded socialist production and the defensive capacity of the fatherland and, on the other hand, insures the uninterrupted rise in the general material welfare and the cultural level of the working masses. Within this framework, a system of compensation for labor has been constructed which takes good account of the possibilities and needs of the country and correctly reflects the requirements of the objective economic law of distribution according to work. Our wage system is single, centralized and differentiated according to the importance of the branch, the difficulty of the work, the level of qualification, and so forth. It correctly harmonizes the individual interest with the social and serves the revolutionary class education of the workers. This wage system, and the amount and structure of the workers' incomes, respond entirely to the needs for expanded reproduction of the work force and the population as a whole, as the decisive factor in the rapid development of the productive forces.

The party has concerned and is concerning itself especially about maintaining proper proportions in the size of income between the various groups of workers, constantly narrowing the differences between town and country, between physical and mental workers, between those who work directly in production and those who work in the nonproductive sphere; and so forth. The steps that have been taken in these last few years, as well as those adopted by the 7th Party Congress for this five-year plan, are aimed at further narrowing the differences in workers' incomes, establishing the most correct proportions between the wages of workers in the state apparatus and the economy and the workers in science and culture on the one hand and the wages of production workers on the other. At the same time, further improvements are being made in narrowing the level of incomes between urban and rural workers. The basic principle in all the measures adopted by the party in this field has been and remains that the level of the incomes of white-collar employees [nepunes] shall conform more and more to the general average level of subsistence of the urban and rural workers [punonjes], without permitting the creation of unjustified differences that may become a breeding ground for privileged and bourgeoisified castes.

As a result of the party's pursuit of a correct Marxist-Leninist policy, which does not isolate the application of the principle of compensation according to work from the revolutionary content, the ratio of workers' wages at present is 1 to 1.67, while between the average wage of workers and the highest salaries of employees it is 1 to 2. These ratios are the lowest in the world, and there can be no question of making any comparison with those in the countries where the revisionists are in power. Through salaries and legalized compensations alone, the new bourgeoisie in the revisionist countries secures incomes 20 and more times higher than for the workers, without counting other speculative acquisitions.

Guided by the Marxist-Leninist principle that "socialism is not built in the city alone or for the working class alone, but is also built in the countryside, and for the peasants" (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Party Congress, p 77), the party has from time to time taken a number of measures for the gradual narrowing of the essential differences between town and country both in the level of real per capita incomes and in the level of the living standard. Thus, in the past five-year plan, the per capita rate of real income in the countryside rose at an annual average rate 2.3 times faster than in the towns. There are now farm cooperatives, even in the mountain regions, where the incomes of the cooperativists have approached or equaled those of the industrial workers [punetore]. Likewise from the viewpoint of the living standard and the cultural, educational and health level the countryside is constantly approaching the towns. Today more than half of the rural population lives in new houses built during the years of the people's rule. But in spite of the profound transformations effected in the countryside, relatively substantial differences still exist in the living standard between the urban and rural workers, especially in some mountain regions. Therefore, the party, in continuation of the course pursued by it, has provided and is applying other important measures to narrow those differences, evaluating this matter as the principal way to strengthen the alliance between the working class and the cooperativist peasants. For example, in the field of investments it is intended to increase the financing with centralized funds of the conditioning of lands, the planting of timber trees, irrigation works, and so forth; in the non-productive sphere the expenditures made by the state to maintain kindergartens, boarding schools, houses of culture, permanent day nurseries, traveling dispensaries, maternity hospitals, and so forth, will be increased. All these things and, above all, the performance of the plan tasks for increasing farm production will make it possible to increase the per capita real income of the cooperativist peasants in this five-year plan at a rate over three times higher than for the urban population. As a result, in 1980 the size of real per capita incomes in the countryside will be over 80 percent of the size of per capita incomes in the towns, instead of the 71 percent in 1975.

2. By perfecting the distribution relationships, the party has pursued a policy filling primarily the most essential needs of the economy, the fatherland and the workers--needs which are vital, massive and adjusted



to the degree of development of the productive forces under the circumstances of the imperialist-revisionist blockade and encirclement, while combating petty bourgeois concepts and whims and the demands which are beyond the real possibilities of the economy and are premature.

A correct revolutionary understanding of welfare under socialism requires, among other things, that we root in our people a feeling of simplicity and thrift in the use of material goods, so that every member of society will think, work and live as a revolutionary, leading a simple and unpretentious life in conformity with the real possibilities of society. Any manifestation of the chase after luxury and the mania to buy as much household equipment and furniture as possible, which are not necessary to raise welfare but are stimulated by bourgeois and petty bourgeois remnants and concepts about the way of life inherited from the past or as a consequence of the ideological pressure exerted by the capitalist-revisionist encirclement on our country, are harmful and have negative consequences on both the economic and the ideological side.

With the incomes that they obtain by their work, our workers not only meet the daily needs for livelihood but are also able to save a part of their incomes, which they use to fill certain particular needs for equipment, furniture and household appliances, and so forth, which have a relatively high value. But, if those expenditures are immediate, premature and forced, as is sometimes the case, the interests of the family are primarily injured, and the daily consumption of the members of the family is reduced. A negative effect in this respect has also been produced by the organization of so-called lotteries by some workers, which action stimulates the chase after luxury and the premature filling of needs; it burdens the family budget and, as the illegal action that it is, it also creates social unrest. It is for this reason that the party bids us combat every alien manifestation and tendency, however slight it may be, in our way of life and root in everyone's mind the necessity of a simple life, without excesses and within the norms of socialist life, the demands of proletarian morality and Marxist-Leninist esthetics.

Within the framework of all the work done to produce and supply the people with goods that it needs most, educational work and the organizational measures for the correct orientation of consumer demands and for the development and strengthening of revolutionary socialist tastes are of special importance. But is this duty understood in all its depth and, in particular, is it borne well in mind at every step of the activity of the government organs, especially the commercial ones? It is true that efforts have been and are being made in this respect, but it is likewise a fact that there is no continuity in a good many cases, and narrow and onesided notions and treatments are noted. The point is that we must have a thorough understanding of the party's orientations and not fall under the influence of bourgeois ideas and tastes on our way of life, which find expression in tendencies toward extravagance, premature comfort, a mania

for luxury, and so on, which are noted in some individual persons and are nurtured by the most diverse means and ways, especially by the all-around bourgeois-revisionist ideological pressure. But neither should we succumb to popular ideas and tendencies to produce and market goods in a slipshod manner, without taste or style, as the struggle in this respect is understood in a good many cases by certain cadres and workers, who use this concept to justify the poor work they do in the ever-developing production of goods of high quality and sound taste, designed to preserve and develop our national traditions.

As a result of the economic stability and the rapid increase in social production, the rise in welfare has also been gradual but secure, harmonizing in a revolutionary manner all the methods which make such a thing possible. Within this framework, we have insured the proper harmonization of the increase in the number of workers engaged in social work, the increase in the average wage and especially the incomes of the cooperativists, and the systematic increase in the social accumulation fund. "One of the chief ways to raise the living standard systematically," declared Comrade Enver Hoxha to the 7th Party Congress, "in the party's consideration, is to engage the whole able-bodied population in useful social work" (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Party Congress, p 74). Thus, the sources of labor have continually increased. Today, 2-3 persons in each family are working. Under this five-year plan, the number of workers in a work relationship with the state and in the farm cooperatives will increase by 225,000. It is important that this new force which will enter the production process will be as well prepared as possible, both professionally and ideologically, so as to create a clear idea that the main source of the growth in welfare is useful social work and, above all, labor expended in the production of material goods. "Therefore, the new forces," it was declared at the 7th Party Congress, "must be directed to where work fronts are opened and where the needs are greatest." (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Party Congress, p 75).

The size of the income for each family in both town and country is a relative indicator of a national character, directly related to the country's economic strength, to the structure of consumption of material goods and various services, as well as to the course pursued in raising the material welfare and cultural level of all the people. On the basis of the determination of the necessary subsistence minimum, grounded on the data of medical science and the nutritional structure of our country's population, we find that the existing level of workers' wages provides the requisite means of livelihood for every family, thus normally filling the needs for food, clothing, housing, and so forth. Of great importance under these conditions are the stability of our economy, the stability of the market and of prices, the steady supply of goods needed by all workers, in both town and country, the reduction of costs, the most correct enforcement of the party's policy in distributing incomes and all the material and cultural goods needed by the socialist society, which directly affect the living standard of the working masses.

A principal indicator for the welfare of the people is the increase in individual consumption, which during this five-year plan forms the basis for the increase in real incomes. But our revolutionary practice shows that the rapid increase in social consumption is also of great importance for the elevation of welfare. The general tendency is to constantly increase the proportion of the social consumption fund in the total consumption of the people in both town and country. Thus, in the Fifth Five-Year Plan, the social consumption fund occupied 14.3 percent of the people's total consumption fund as against 11.9 percent under the Fourth Five-Year Plan.

The state spends large amounts to develop education and health, for social insurance, for communal services, and for other vital services of a social-cultural character. Thus, for social-cultural needs it spends about 660 leks per capita a year; for every student with a scholarship it spends about 5,500 leks, and for those without a scholarship over 2,800 leks, for every hospital bed about 10,000 leks, for every child in a day nursery about 3,000 leks, and so forth. The state spends a great deal yearly to improve housing conditions, while rents are very low, representing only 2-3 percent of a family's average income. The more rapid growth of the social consumption fund as compared with that of individual consumption is a correct tendency, which makes it possible to increase earnings according to the needs of each member of society and contributes to narrowing the differences in the amount of compensation, the living standard and life style, the degree of cultural development between the various strata and groups of the urban and rural population, between the mountain and hill regions, since the larger part of those funds are used primarily to fill the needs of the families with the lowest incomes.

The high rate of development of production, the stability of the prices of consumer goods, the abolition of every kind of tax and levy on the population, free health service, the expenditures made by the state for the practical, cultural and vocational education of the workers, as well as many other measures taken by the party form the complex of factors necessary to have a stable welfare that grows not by jumps but gradually and securely. This is a vivid expression of the possibilities created by socialism for the emancipation and all-around development of man as an individual and as a member of society. However, the party has stressed that much remains to be done in this area to attain a higher level of development and economic and social progress and to make our people's lives more beautiful and flowering.

The contrary is the case in the capitalist and revisionist countries. The workers in those countries are oppressed and exploited by the classes in power. The crises, inflation, unemployment, rising prices and other negative phenomena that have gripped the economy of the capitalist and revisionist countries by the throat strike primarily at the living standard of the working masses. In the capitalist and revisionist countries, in which the law of maximum profits and the other laws of capitalist economy operate without any limitation, where merciless competition takes place, and where

the law of value, anarchy and a haphazard market operate in full force and breadth, neither stability nor a rapid rate of development can be insured. The deformations of the structure of the economy and the disproportions between and within the branches of the economy, between town and country, and so forth, are inevitable phenomena in the capitalist system. The purpose of production under capitalism is the insurance of profits, and therefore production cannot directly serve all of society, but only a very small part of it, while it serves the working masses only insofar as needed to increase their capitalist exploitation.

Under the conditions of the unbridled increase in military expenditures, the deepening of parasitic life in society and, in general, the expenditure of the national income in very large proportions for nonproductive purposes, and so forth, the shocks to the economy of the capitalist-revisionist world are becoming ever more far-reaching. Therefore, the bourgeoisie, the imperialists and the social-imperialists, in order to keep their profits intact, endeavor by every means to find ways out by intensifying the exploitation of the broad working masses within the country, in the vassal countries and in the backward ones.

Galloping inflation, the rise in prices, taxes, charges for services and rents, the flourishing of the black market, the blocking of wages, and so forth, are the means and ways used by the bourgeoisie to exploit the broad working masses. Thus, the polarization of the bourgeois and revisionist society into rich and poor is constantly deepening, the means of livelihood and the consumption of the broad working masses are being reduced, the lives of the workers are becoming more and more difficult and less and less secure. In the USA, France, Japan, Spain, and so forth, 1/5 of the population, represented by the capitalists, appropriates about 1/2 of the national income, while the pay of the workers undergoes a series of cuts. For example, a worker in the USA is obliged to pay a host of taxes which, together with payments for personal social insurance, take an average of 1/4 of the worker's wage, while public utility services and rent comprise about 1/3 of all expenditures by a family. One day's stay in a hospital alone costs American workers not less than \$175, while a student has to pay about \$3,000 a year for tuition.

In the capitalist countries, as a consequence of the present economic crisis, one notes everywhere a pronounced drop in production, many enterprises go bankrupt, and millions of workers are turned out on the street, thus aggravating their economic situation more and more. Today, the capitalist and bourgeois-revisionist worlds have over 300 million unemployed and semi-employed, millions of homeless, about 12,000 persons who die each year of hunger, and nearly a billion suffering from hunger; and so on. In those countries, the prices of consumer articles are continually increasing. In this crisis situation into which the capitalist-revisionist world has been plunged, a worker's family needs over twice as much money as 10 years ago to insure its livelihood. Every day the bourgeois press tells of new rises of consumer goods prices, the growth in the number of unemployed,

inflation, the rise in taxes, and so forth. It is readily understood that all these things greatly impair the living conditions for the working masses, not to mention the fear and uncertainty for the morrow, the many social worries created for simple workers because of the unprecedented rise in crime, vagabondage, robbery, violence, alcoholism, and so forth, which are an outgrowth of the capitalist and revisionist systems.

All these things show how false and demagogic are the theories of the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists to the effect that capitalism is now changing into a "collective consumption society," a "society of general welfare," and so forth. On the contrary, innumerable facts show that the so-called "consumer society" is nothing but a society in decay, a rotten society which is being incessantly eroded by many irreconcilable contradictions between labor and capital, between the working class and the bourgeoisie, as well as by contradictions between the capitalist powers. Life shows that the capitalist system is incapable of insuring simultaneously maximum profits for the bourgeoisie and the preservation of an internal social equilibrium and a stability of life for the broad masses of the people. By comparing this dark and dismal picture of the living standard of the working masses in the capitalist and revisionist countries with the stability and ability of our socialist economy to guarantee the rapid and steady development of social production and the welfare of all the people, we will see even more clearly the superiority and vitality of our socialist system, the greatness of the whole economic policy of our party in building socialism on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist principle of self-reliance.

3. In the Sixth Five-Year Plan, as in all the plans for the development of our economy, the growth in welfare, the ever better fulfillment of the ever growing material and cultural needs of the working masses is one of the main features pervading the basic task of the five-year plan. The directives of this plan in general outlines give the strategic direction to the party's economic policy both for the Sixth Five-Year Plan and for the new economic, social and material conditions to be created by the realization of that plan so as to undertake greater steps in economic development in future periods. This rests upon a knowledge, reflection and ever better enforcement of the requirements of the objective economic laws of socialism and in the broader application of the principle of self-reliance. The objectives anticipated in this five-year plan for elevating welfare constitute a great program of work for all our working masses. In the directives of this plan one is struck by an appreciable growth in total industrial and agricultural production. Thus, the volume of total industrial production in 1980 will grow 41-43 percent over 1975, which is greater than the volume of production in the first three five-year plans taken together; total agricultural production will increase 37-39 percent in the same period, being approximately equal to the agricultural production in the last two five-year plans. So the rate of increase in industrial and agricultural production is over 3 times greater than the rate of increase in the population, which insures a gradual but secure rise in the

welfare of our working masses. As a consequence of the rise in total social production, the national income will also rise 38-40 percent over the 5th five-year plan. The distribution of the national income, in this five-year plan, as always, is designed to be in the interest of the rapid development of expanded socialist reproduction, the integrated fulfillment of the material and cultural needs of the working masses, and the strengthening of the country's defensive power. The accumulation fund will be used primarily to expand production, develop industry and agriculture, build more than 220 important new works, and so forth. All these things will speed up the construction of the material-technical base of socialism and greatly strengthen its economic base. The social sectors, education, culture and health will also be developed in this five-year plan, and further progress will be made in narrowing the differences between town and country; and so forth.

The vigorous development of the productive forces in the Sixth Five-Year Plan will be a powerful support for the further greater elevation of welfare in the future. Thus, it is intended that real per capita income shall increase 11-14 percent in this five-year plan, with far-reaching priority being given to its growth in the countryside; the retail circulation of goods will increase 22-25 percent; 65,000 new apartments and dwellings will be built in town and country; over 18,000 students will graduate from the colleges and 91,000 pupils from the secondary schools; and so on. Important measures are planned for improving service to the people, the aim being to bring about a qualitative increase in work by all the workers of the service sectors.

But in order for the objectives of this five-year plan to become a reality it is necessary, as Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, for all to understand correctly the content of welfare under socialism, as a matter depending upon the working masses themselves, upon the struggle they themselves wage to realize it. It is the workers that, by producing material goods, have all the possibilities for recognizing the internal reserves and managing production and every other economic-social activity in a rational manner, thus making it possible to attain the planned indicators in the field of welfare as well. Therefore, it is necessary to interpret correctly the tasks relating to the elevation of welfare, and to make it clear to the working masses that welfare is not a gift, but is achieved by labor, by continual efforts to fulfill and overfulfill the plan indicators. "The party," declared Comrade Enver Hoxha to the 7th Party Congress, "has the aim of making the people's lives as happy as possible, and of insuring the general elevation of welfare. But it is important for all to understand that the main factor in achieving these objectives has been and remains the all-around mobilization of the urban and rural workers to increase socialist production and labor productivity, being guided by our revolutionary principle that, before claiming from society, one must give it as much as possible." (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Party Congress, p 78).

Under the present conditions, where the capitalist-revisionist encirclement is becoming ever fiercer, it is necessary that the objectives set by the party in the development and strengthening of our socialist economy and the defensive capacity of the fatherland, and its whole policy in this field, and consequently also in that of raising the welfare of all our people, shall be correctly conceived, and that an objective evaluation shall be made of our opportunities, the tasks set, and the circumstances in which our country is building socialism.

In view of the fact that production under socialism has the purpose of filling the growing needs of the people in their totality and their dialectic interconnection, great importance attaches to the fight against the tendency to fulfill the plan in a merely "global" and onesided manner without paying proper attention to the assortment, and particularly the quality, of the new products of small value and to all the qualitative indicators of production. The main thing for everyone is to understand correctly that consumption by the workers is not just a general notion as to value. It is above all an expression of definite values of conception and is materialized in the demands for various products and services. In this sense, the state and economic organs are faced with important tasks in studying the people's demands as to their dynamism and tendency of development, in order to fill ever better the real and massive needs of the people. But in order for the production and marketing of consumer goods to be always at the service of filling the people's needs according to the order of their necessity, it is necessary to combat energetically every tendency and practice of planning just to keep "on the inside," and the mere "global" realization of the production and sales plan. There is harm and danger to the economy and our way of life in the tendency noted here and there to produce and sell chiefly goods of high value, to exceed the plan in these goods without taking fully into account the fulfillment of the massive needs of the people and especially their satisfaction with simple articles, the so-called "little" and "cheap" ones.

Insuring the general welfare of the population by relying on our own forces means heightening the unshakeable faith in the great mental, physical and moral abilities of the people as active and conscious builders of socialism, and stimulating the workers' revolutionary initiatives by every means. Therefore, the party directs us that the tasks provided for in this five-year plan for the production of consumer goods shall only be a possible limit necessary for their attainment. But in case there is an increase in the efforts of the party organizations, the state and economic organs to stimulate the workers' initiatives and self-action to increase production also through new production lines, departments and factories with advanced technology, and to exploit rationally the sources of labor, the production capacities, the raw and accessory materials, all the possibilities exist not only for insuring the attainment of the objectives set, but also for surpassing them.

The intensive development of the country has raised the all-around requirements for filling the needs of the economy and the people's consumption, which demands many material and financial means and much manpower. But under conditions in which their sources are not unlimited, the duty "to produce more, faster, better and cheaper" holds true to its full extent. This means greater quantities throughout, better quality and ever lower costs. It means producing on the basis of a strong thrift regime in everything and everywhere. The attainment of the planned indicators for welfare requires that the quality of services shall be broadened and improved along with the job of increasing industrial and agricultural production, the sources of socialist accumulation shall grow continually, the effectiveness of investments and construction shall be increased, the expenditures on production and circulation shall be lowered, exports shall rise more rapidly than imports, and so forth. But all these things, it was stressed at the 7th Party Congress, require a perfected work organization, an increase in the feeling of collective and individual responsibility on the part of all production and administration workers, and an intensification of the fight against all alien manifestations and concepts and in favor of the way of life and the strengthening of the revolutionary concepts about welfare under socialism. Therefore, the performance of the tasks that have been set in this five-year plan for the further elevation of the workers' welfare requires that a wide struggle be waged on the ideological, political, economic and organizational fronts. Along with this, the strengthening of control and accountability concerning the amount of work and the distribution of the social product, the reinforcement of proletarian discipline and the enforcement of a strict thrift regime, in both the productive and the nonproductive sphere, are necessary conditions for attaining and exceeding the indicators of welfare for all the working masses.

10002

CSO: 2100



CLASS STRUGGLE STRENGTHENS PARTY UNITY

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albania No 9, Sep 77 pp 48-60

[Article by Jorgji Sota: "The Unity of the Party Is Preserved and Strengthened by the Class Struggle"]

[Text] The unity of the party is a fighting unity, a unity of the thought and action of revolutionaries, based on ideology, the line, the principles and the norms of the party. It has been and remains a distinguishing feature of our party, representing, as Comrade Enver Hoxha declared at the 7th Party Congress, the most important weapon in the party's hands for performing with honor its tasks in revolution and socialist construction, overcoming every difficulty and resisting the blows of enemies from without and from within.

In unity lies the source of strength and indestructibility of the party. But without contradictions of different natures and without the struggle to overcome them there can be neither unity and true revolutionary development of the party nor true revolutionary education of the communists.

The class struggle in the party to maintain and strengthen its unity as an organic component of the general class struggle is an objective and unavoidable phenomenon necessary for the party's very existence, leading role and continual revolutionization. Naturally, in the class meaning of the word, the party is not an arena of the class struggle, since it does not unite representatives of different classes with opposing interests, but the most conscious vanguard elements of the working class and the other strata of workers guided by the same ideal and fighting for the same aims. However, the class struggle goes on in the party too, since the communists, like all other workers, are neither immunized from the ideological pressure of their enemies nor wholly divested of the remnants of the past in their consciences, which are maintained and nurtured by this pressure. From this standpoint, the class struggle in the party, having the preservation and strengthening of unity in its ranks as its main course, strikes at the alien concepts and manifestations that appear in individual communists, as well as at any hostile action that attempts to disrupt and liquidate it. Any conception of unity outside of that struggle and any tendency, allegedly in favor of

such unity, to destroy or weaken the class struggle has a pronouncedly opportunistic and revisionist content and is very dangerous, since it leads to the liquidation of the party's political and ideological vigilance, to the undermining of unity itself and of its indivisible leading role. They also talk about unity in the revisionist parties. But the revisionists, as men without principle and exponents and propagators of the bourgeois ideology, do not and can never have unity among them, either on a national or an international scale. True unity can only be insured on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the class struggle. Any slogan or declaration about unity that lacks this criterion is false and has definite hostile aims. This has been and is being proved by all the experience of the international communist movement.

Treating the class struggle in the party as a function of unity, we conceive it primarily as a struggle for ideological unity grounded on the ideology of the working class, on Marxism-Leninism.

Without this unity the Marxist-Leninist party cannot perform its indivisible leading role as the only ideological staff of the proletariat, enabling it to define correctly the objectives and fundamental strategic tasks of the struggle of the working class in every stage of the revolution and socialist construction, to elaborate methods, ways and means of attaining them, to persuade the masses ideologically of the rightness of its program and slogans, and to launch them into the most daring revolutionary actions. The essence of this question lies in the well-known Marxist-Leninist principle and Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings that revolution is made by the masses, socialism is built by the masses, while the party makes them conscious.

The class struggle in the party is also a struggle for political unity based on the party's political line, and it embraces both strategy and tactics. Without this unity, the Marxist-Leninist party cannot perform its other indivisible leading function as the sole political staff and the only directing center of the struggle of the proletariat, which enables it to coordinate and guide toward a single goal all the other units of the struggle of the working class and the broad working masses. This presupposes that all the communists without exception, as a single troop, regardless of the place and sector in which they work, will feel deeply and take upon themselves the whole responsibility for correctly understanding and enforcing the party line according to the Marxist-Leninist thesis formulated by Comrade Enver Hoxha that "every communist must be a specialist in the party line."

The class struggle in the party is, finally, a struggle for organizational unity based on the correct understanding and application of the principles and norms regulating the internal life of the party and equally binding on all communists, organizations and organs of the party.

Without this unity, without rigorous adherence to all the known party norms, beginning with democratic centralism, internal democracy and the broad policy of the line of the masses, no directive can be worked out and properly executed, no correct political and ideological decision can be taken and carried out, and there can be no proper relationship within the party. It suffices for one of these norms to be disregarded, and unity is not only weakened, but runs the risk of being distorted too. This also makes clear the connection and mutual dialectic dependence existing between the three basic aspects or the three components of unity: ideological, political and organizational unity.

The fact that unity in our party has been growing constantly stronger indicates the all-around political, ideological and organizational efforts that it has made to execute the Leninist line, principles and norms faithfully and in a revolutionary manner in the uncompromising fight against every alien concept and manifestation that has aimed to violate them, to trample or distort them. The culminating point, the highest and sharpest form of the class struggle in our party, which has always represented the greatest danger to the unity in its ranks, has been the fight against all the hostile views and activity of the anti-party elements and groups which have arisen within the party. This has not been a casual struggle over partial or minor matters, but a thoroughly principled struggle to defend ideological purity and make a correct political and organizational solution of the most fundamental problems concerning the party's general line.

The rich revolutionary experience gained by our party in the struggle for unity, raised to a higher generalizing degree at the party congresses and especially at the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th plenums of the Central Committee and at its 7th congress, has placed it on a broader path of revolutionary thinking and activity.

One of the most important conclusions from this experience is that all the enemy groups that have arisen within the party, from A. Luloja and S. Premtja, S. Maleshova and Y. Dishnica, K. Xoxeja and P. Kristua, T. Jakova and B. Spahiu, L. Belishova and K. Tashkoja down to B. Balluku and A. Kellezi and associates, regardless of their attempts to mask themselves, often under the name and slogans of the party, have always sought to be a definite ideological, political and organizational platform against the party and the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. To realize this platform, they have tried to practice various forms of struggle and organization, elaborating, coordinating and replacing them according to the circumstances and situations which have been created.

In execution of these tactics, they have always attempted to tie and coordinate their activity with the imperialist-revisionist enemies, who practice diversion in fighting us, by organizing plots and using their elements outside of the country for this purpose. In general, the enemy has tried

to cultivate euphoric views in our cadres, to stir up petty-bourgeois vices in them, stimulate arrogance, gather them together in various institutions, withdraw them from the field and from concrete work and in this way gradually form a bureaucratic stratum which, by entering upon the path of moral-ideological and then political degeneration, would serve as a tool to stifle the revolutionary situation which the party had created.

In this respect, annealment and unity in the party have been and remain a rather complex process. Our party points out that it "is passing through many struggles and dangers put in its way by the class enemy, who uses any means, objective and subjective, political or ideological, oppression and terror, coercive measures and economic disturbances, open corruption and illegal undermining action against the working class in general, against the party as an organization, against the party members and the state officials, or the mass organizations in particular." ("The Working Class in the Revisionist Countries Must Go Down into the Battlefield and Restore the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," brochure, 1968, p 26).

One of the main links in the chain of tactical forms which the enemy has seized upon to destroy our party's unity has been attempts to disrupt its Central Committee, to insure the creation of contrary revisionist ideological currents and lines on a partywide scale, and then to go on to annihilate the party as a whole. This has been the aim of the factional antiparty activity of K. Xoxe, and this is the way that L. Belishova and K. Tashkoja have attempted to operate; and this is what the putschist group of B. Balluku, P. Dume and H. Cako have tried to do, as well as the other enemies of the party and our people.

But our enemies have never, under any circumstances, however complex, been able to bring about the least disruption in the party, either in the leadership or the base, in spite of the brutal intervention and zealous support which they have had from external enemies, from Titoist, Khrushchevian and other revisionists. They have not only been unable to create contrary currents and lines on a partywide scale, but they have not even been able to impose upon the party a single discussion of its line on a base organization-wide scale. This has been not only one of the decisive factors in keeping our party ever revolutionary and our revolution marching ever forward, but also a brilliant victory of Marxism-Leninism over opportunism and revisionism on a national and international scale.

This example of our party and, in general, the struggle which it has waged to strengthen and maintain unity and which has always ended in total victory for it and in the total defeat of our enemies, have been determined by various factors.

First, by standing firmly in the revolutionary positions of Marxist-Leninist ideology, our party has always avoided concessions in principles, but has struck at and unmasked alien concepts and erroneous views at the root, without allowing them to "flourish," grow in stature and become

contrary ideological currents hostile to Marxism-Leninism. In this matter it has proceeded from the principle that Marxism-Leninism, by its very revolutionary class nature, does not and cannot accept any kind of "peaceful coexistence" with the foreign regressive, reactionary ideologies. Lenin posed the question categorically: either socialist ideology or bourgeois ideology--there is no middle road. Any underestimation or lapse from the socialist ideology leads one inevitably into the positions of bourgeois ideology, and sets one on the path of bourgeois-revisionist degeneration.

Second, in elaborating and applying a single political revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line, our party has not allowed and will never allow another line to exist in the party, for to accept the existence of two lines means also accepting one line which is that of the proletariat, and another line which is that of the bourgeoisie; it means accepting the presence of two groups, two centers, two staffs. This would inevitably result in the dissolution, disruption and finally degeneration of the party, since two lines, two centers, two staffs can never prevail in a Marxist-Leninist party, which is the sole ideological and political guiding staff of the proletariat.

Third, in applying and defending in a revolutionary manner the principles and norms regulating its internal life and the activity of it and every communist, our party has not allowed careerists, opportunists, deviators, upstarts and enemy agents to get settled and make the laws in the leadership. When such elements have been able to get into its ranks, it has purged them and bared their hostile antiparty work. On the other hand, it has never permitted the existence of factions. "A Marxist-Leninist party that is respected as such," Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, "cannot permit the existence of a faction or many factions. And if such a thing should appear, the party cannot and must not tolerate their existence, even for a short time." (Enver Hoxha, Reports and Speeches, 1967-1968, pp 39-40). In every encounter with the enemy, our party's Central Committee, at which the main blows have been directed, has always stood compact and monolithic, loyal and fighting to the end to preserve the purity of the party's line and unity. In this matter so vital to the fate of the party and socialism it has, as in everything else, always found unreserved support and active involvement on the part of the whole party and all the people. These relations between the base and the leadership, which have always been characterized as a relationship of assistance, cooperation, mutual confidence and control, are grounded on the party's teachings and Comrade Enver Hoxha's admonition that "the leadership chosen by the party must be loved and respected by it in a revolutionary manner, and not in an opportunistic, bureaucratic and purely hierarchical manner. It is necessary that the party keep it constantly and continually under revolutionary Marxist-Leninist control, to educate, correct and control it, and to toss it out when it does not straighten up and continues to make mistakes." (Enver Hoxha, Reports and Speeches 1967-1968, p 462).

It is precisely these correct, resolute, consistent and principled stands, this great revolutionary struggle that have annealed our party, kept its ranks ever pure, and raised it to such a high ideological and organizational level that it has had such a steellike unity with a stable, monolithic leadership made up of proven Marxist-Leninist revolutionary comrades.

Our party, in keeping with the stages of development of the revolution, has not only fixed the objectives and directions of the working class, which are also reflected in its ranks as to the preservation and strengthening of unity, but has elaborated and put into practice the revolutionary ways, means and methods for the successful waging of this struggle.

First, it has waged the class struggle for unity simultaneously for the three components making it up (ideological, political and organizational unity). This is because the party line could not only be elaborated and carried out, but could not even be defended from any violation or distortion to which it might be subjected if it were not based simultaneously both upon ideology and upon the party's Marxist-Leninist principles and norms.

Proceeding from the principle and the fact that there is only one policy reflected and concretized in all fields and sectors of state and social activity, our party has never separated political and ideological leadership from economic, military, cultural and organizational leadership. It has resolutely opposed any manifestation of onesidedness and any hostile activity that has appeared in this respect, since it inevitably results in weakening and liquidating the unity and leading role of the party.

Although the hostile groups exposed and condemned by the party in these last few years operated by directing their main blow, initially and with greater weight, against a specific sector (in ideology, in the army, or in the economy), we did not have to deal here with incidental, isolated phenomena without any connection with one another, but with a plan coordinated in time and purposes, in strategy and tactics. They represented links in a single chain, a wide complex, the strings of which were tied to a single node and purpose: to get control of the party leadership, to seize the reins of the people's rule and in this way to liquidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist order, to replace them by the bourgeois-revisionist dictatorship and order, while changing the Workers' Party of Albania into a fascist party. This has been and remains the fundamental aim of our enemies, regardless of the fields, forms or means with which the class struggle in the party is waged.

In a broader sense, all the actions which do not conform with the norms and laws of the dictatorship of the proletariat, all the alien attitudes and influences, great and small, in ideology, the economy, culture, art and the army are subordinated ultimately to this purpose. Every act of

this nature and every alien manifestation, however isolated it may seem, is a link in a single chain, in a systematic, uninterrupted hostile activity directed against the party and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Liberalism and bureaucratism, as two variants of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology, which are born together and operate together, producing rightist deviation in the party, are fraught with ideological, political and organization premises for the destruction of unity in its ranks.

These phenomena, like any other disease of bourgeois or revisionist origin will become fatal for the party and the dictatorship of the proletariat unless caught in time and combated systematically and radically. This has been confirmed by the negative experience of the Soviet Union and other countries where the revisionists have come to power.

Our party has long made clear the political and ideological causes that can change into liberals and bureaucrats not only the cadres who are specialists and technicians in the various sectors of the state administration, the economy, culture, education, and so forth, but also those party workers who, being ideologically disoriented under the influence of enemy pressure and the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois remnants in their consciences, lose both political sense and revolutionary class spirit as to understanding and executing the party's line, principles and norms. These phenomena find their most concrete expression in the violation and distortion of the party's directives. "Liberalism in the execution of the party's directives and the state laws," as Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, "Is an outgrowth of bourgeois ideology and bearer of all the evils that it brings in practice, from the smaller violation of party discipline and the state laws and regulations to the most serious crimes." (Enver Hoxha, Reports and Speeches 1967-1968, p 455). But the placing of personal and departmental interests above the general interest represented by the party's policy, the viewing of problems with the eyes of a bureaucrat, the underestimation of policy with respect to vocation, the "absolutization" of the role of science, technology and the technical intelligentsia--concepts grounded on contempt for the creative role of the working masses, primarily the working class--also give rise to the more typical manifestations of bureaucratism and technocratism in the party's life as well.

While the party has combated bureaucratism, the lack of control and the weakening of vigilance as alien manifestations, the enemy elements have sought to profit from them and attempted to use them as ways and methods to attain their hostile aims. They have likewise taken advantage of the sickly notion of so-called hierarchy, i.e. the functions and authority which the party has given and gives to people, treating these always as duties and attributes under which everyone is to execute its directives honestly and accurately on the Marxist-Leninist path and within the prescribed norms. Indeed, the bureaucratic and technocratic elements have exploited them for their evil purposes, wearing them as titles, privileges, favors and authority for their own person, which has led them to put

themselves above the party and the class and to impose the law upon them. But denying the hegemonic role of the working class, and consequently also the leading role of its party, evading their control and placing administration above government, is no mere "error" or act "without awareness," as some of the bureaucratic and technocratic elements who have changed into conscious enemies have tried to justify themselves at first, but a flagrant violation, in theory and in practice, of the party's political line, which puts the ax to unity and prepares the premises for the total degeneration of the party and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The bureaucratic concepts reflected too in such vices as arrogance and imperiousness, vanity and haughtiness, the cult of the person and personal glory, deceit and glossing over of situations, favoritism and partiality to relatives become still more dangerous to the unity and leading role of the party because they cultivate fear, servility, conformism, formalistic discipline, unconditional conviction, and so forth, inside and outside of its ranks.

Second, the successful waging of the class struggle to preserve and strengthen unity demands that attention be concentrated upon strict surveillance of the party's principles and norms, so that their correct revolutionary interpretation and execution may serve not only in elaborating and carrying out its line correctly, but also in the revolutionary defense of that line from every violation or distortion. This is reflected both in the general results of the execution of the line, and in the attitude at work and in struggle held by people toward the party's directives and decisions, in that they understand them and fight to put them into practice. This is also the main course for the continual revolutionization of the party.

In this matter too there is a bridge linking bureaucratism with liberalism. While the violation or deformation of the norms is one of the main causes of the manifestations of liberalism in the party, a misunderstanding and formalistic execution of them strain the internal life of the party, stifle the revolutionary spirit of the communists and open the way to its bureaucratization.

Life has proved that there is no democracy, unity assumes a formal character, and the manifestations of bureaucratism and technocratism rear their heads precisely in those base organizations in which criticism and self-criticism, discussion, debate and the all-around threshing out of problems from every viewpoint, political, ideological and organizational, are replaced by an atmosphere of false "tranquillity" and "harmony," in which all at a meeting are agreed, but outside of it they do not mobilize to execute the tasks and remain indifferent.

Although the line of the masses, as the fundamental line of our party, has now become an active revolutionary method, there are organizations that do not heed it or else mouth it as a worthless slogan. In these cases internal democracy in the party is understood and put into practice



not only in the spirit of liberalism, but also in that of bureaucratism, since, as Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasizes, fear of debate and of the line of the masses is not characteristic of communists, but of petty-bourgeois and bureaucrats, who do not like trouble and worry.

Nor must we underestimate the damage caused to unity by the quarrels, dissension, factionalism, unhealthy family ties which are noted now and then in a number of base organizations, especially in the countryside. Although these phenomena seem not to have a political character, inasmuch as they rest upon an alien ideological basis, on the petty-bourgeois psychology and mentality, expressed in some cases in the pursuit of narrow personal interest, in clan and family ties, in the striving of some communists to use the base organization for their own personal, egoistic and ambitious purposes, they damage unity because they divert the communists from the main problems, from the execution of the directives, and lead them into a blind alley, onto a path of disagreements, gossip, dissolution of discipline, lack of vigilance, palliation of faults and errors, which are also exploited by the class enemy. It is precisely this situation that hinders the party base organizations of the foreign trade enterprises from strongly opposing certain hostile elements with no good make-up, who, masked for a long time by the party card, have carried on their hostile activity before the eyes of the communists. The party, considering the fight against these manifestations as an important aspect of the class struggle, has constantly enjoined intensive educational work geared also to organizational measures to strengthen unity everywhere and to maintain a correct and principled stand in every case.

Third, the successful conduct of the class struggle for unity requires the continual strengthening of revolutionary vigilance, for the enemy does not sleep, but watches and acts. Even when he withdraws temporarily and lies in wait because of the devastating blows and severe defeats he suffers, he never gives up his aim, which is to destroy us, but, as the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha teach us, we must destroy him first.

Being vigilant does not mean exposing only the enemy's strategic aims, but also his tactical forms. The strategic aims which he tries to hide in every way, under the name of the party's slogans, become completely clear only after his tactical actions have been unmasked and beaten down. The experience in the fight which our party has waged in these last few years to expose and frustrate putschist and sabotaging activity has shown that our enemies, hiding under the great verve and enthusiasm of the party and the working masses, have been able to mask their activity with the general line of the party, allegedly with the need to strengthen the organization, with the pretext of developing the economy and the need to make more thorough and persistent studies in its various branches, of improving and strengthening the army, the economy, education, culture, and so forth. Therefore, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has emphasized, the party and the class must not see in the enemy's work merely the external gloss, the bombastic words and breastbeatings, but must also see and judge with vigilance

"their big actions and their small actions," since the big sabotaging actions are often wrapped in false euphoric illusions and their true colors are shown in their big actions.

We must seek the enemy not only where he engages in open political activity, but also where he is underestimated, where the difficulties and weaknesses, the errors and shortcomings are intermingled with the continual disruption and violation of discipline, where the leading role of the party organization is belittled and denigrated.

In this respect, revolutionary vigilance must be sharpened everywhere, and especially where the tasks are not being performed, where the party's orientations and decisions, though clear and precise, are not being executed. This is important in defining correctly the objectives of the class struggle; it is insufficient if the sources, the political and ideological causes resulting in nonperformance of the tasks are not exposed at the same time. No disease can be combated without first making a diagnosis, without finding and combating the microbe which causes it. This is known in theory, but in practice it is not always applied as it should be. There are party organizations that place the technical-organizational difficulties and deficiencies in the foreground when the tasks are not performed and the decisions are not carried out, while forgetting that behind them stand people with their concepts and aims, the constant pressure of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, before which even communists may kneel down, indeed even cadres too, who, being unable to resist, grovel along, walk as if on crutches, break down or -what is worse-- pass over the barricades.

Fourth, the method of the class struggle in the party is grounded on persuasion, in accordance with the principle of combating the disease, alien ideology, without mercy, and doing everything possible to save the carrier, the patient. Only in cases where the carrier and spreader of the alien ideology is or becomes an enemy does the method of persuasion give way to the method of compulsion and do the laws of the dictatorship of the proletariat operate against the culprit.

The proper application of the method of persuasion and the continual growth in revolutionary vigilance, as an important aspect of the method of class analysis, require the elevation of ideological work to an ever higher level, an increase in its effectiveness, especially with regard to the correct understanding and conduct of the class struggle. This is dictated primarily by the fact that the alien concepts and manifestations have a pronounced ideological content, and hence cannot be understood otherwise than ideologically. But also the fact that our enemies never throw away their arms obliges us to keep ours ever sharp--not only our firearms, but also our political and ideological weapons, our vigilance, the party line and its proper enforcement. All these weapons are much more powerful than the putschist, conspiratorial and plotting methods.

The degree of enemy activity is often conditioned by the fact that he has been able to exploit the weakness of our ideological work. In this

respect, we must state that it cannot be on the requisite level without ideological armament and vigilance. Life itself has proved that no kind of educational work has any effect unless always properly linked with the live class struggle, unless it resolutely opposes alien concepts and manifestations, unless, above all, it teaches communists to call things by their true names and not to soften and gloss over them, concealing the class essence and the social danger, and unless it forges in the masses that high revolutionary, fighting spirit which under no circumstance permits them to weaken, even in the least, their class feeling or instinct and their harshness toward the enemy. Any concession in this respect, however slight, affecting the key problems of the dictatorship of the proletariat, has very serious consequences for the party, for the defense of the fatherland and for the construction of socialism. Therefore, the results of ideological work must always be measured by the degree of formation of lasting convictions on the part of communists, by the resolve of the latter to make themselves capable of orienting themselves correctly in the situations of the class struggle, resisting the pressure of alien ideology and of defending and enforcing to the last the line and directives of the party.

Fifth, it is of decisive importance that the conduct and direction of the class struggle in the party to preserve and strengthen unity shall be consistent both against opportunist and liberal deviations and against sectarian and leftist distortions, since these are like two sides of the same medal, two expressions of the same policy, which is contrary to the line and Marxist-Leninist policy of the party.

Of great importance too, on the basis of a correct understanding and application of the relationship between antagonistic and nonantagonistic contradictions, is the practical stand to be taken, in general, toward communists who become carriers of alien manifestations and harmful actions. We emphasize this because some communists, who do not properly understand these things, draw distorted conclusions from the fact that the contradictions within the party are nonantagonistic (but in certain cases may change into antagonistic ones, when the spreaders of alien views become conscious enemies and, as such, are expelled from the party), as well as from the principle that the basic method of resolving them is the method of persuasion; they assume liberal stands, make concessions in evaluating acts and behavior incompatible with the socialist world outlook and our socialist order. The method of class analysis for preserving and strengthening unity, Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, requires that the class struggle, even in the party, is to be conceived and waged not with phrases, empty, sentimental slogans, but with proletarian maturity and partisanship; not with insubstantial moralizings, but with revolutionary ideas, judgments and actions; not with silence, but with active revolutionary attitudes.

This balance can be maintained only in day work and struggle to apply and defend the party line, in the revolutionary fervor of the masses and in

the fire of the class struggle, which in the party too serves as the best sieve for differentiating men. In this process, more and more consistent revolutionaries distinguish themselves and gain stature, and these form the overwhelming majority of our party. Such are, above all, those communists who understand and apply the party's directives accurately, who persistently confront every difficulty that rises up before them, who mobilize the masses around themselves, and who educate and direct them in the spirit and line of the party in overcoming those difficulties. But the struggle and effort to apply and defend the party line also bring out those who have introduced contraband into the party, who degenerate, and seek to have their weaknesses, deficiencies and even errors forgiven merely for past merits; who elbow their way forward, try to get soft berths, to rise in responsibility without deserving it, and to insure privileges for themselves or for their relatives.

Not excluded from this picture are those communists who have not budged from their erroneous views and attitudes, owing to the conceit and arrogance that afflict them and consequently come forth with distorted comparisons and conclusions, which they either hold within them and do not express, thus accumulating within themselves a dissatisfaction which increases daily, or do not express before the party, in the presence of sound public opinion, but in intimate circles, among "comrades," and so create, on an unsound basis, a dangerous situation, a sick society. Understandably, such a society, gradually taking shape, changes into an opposition, which at first appears small, but later intensifies if allowed to do so; and unless it is stopped and exposed in time by the party is inevitably becomes an antagonistic contradiction, with all the features of an enemy activity.

Our party has not allowed nor will it ever allow such elements to vegetate within its midst--men who, in one way or another, stain the moral-political physiognomy and high title of communist. It has constantly sought to guard its ranks not only against those who are inclined to opportunist and revisionist degeneration in policy and ideology, but also against petty-bourgeois upstart and bureaucratic elements, careerist and charlatans, servile demagogues, who know how to advertise themselves and hide their true nature from the party. Purging those who blemish the figure of the communist, who lose the qualities of a vanguard revolutionary fighter, or who have introduced contraband into the party has always been considered by it as a law of party development and one of the ways of preserving and strengthening the unity of its ranks. Proceeding from this principle, our party has resolutely opposed every variety of opportunism which takes the declared enemies of the party and the class under its protection and preaches not only the non-exercise of any kind of revolutionary force against them, but even a long "peaceful coexistence" with them in the party, indeed even the establishment of a constructive dialog with those enemies.

If all the traitors in our party, without exception, as elements or as groups, together with our external enemies, have failed utterly to realize the plans and plots they have woven against it and our country, this is to

be explained primarily by the fact that they have been exposed by the Central Committee and by the whole party, have been expelled from it, and have been attacked and condemned by the party and all the people and, when necessary, also by the laws of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

As our party's revolutionary experience shows, the general path to the successful conduct of the class struggle to preserve and strengthen the unity in the party is the correct, faithful and revolutionary understanding and application of the party line, the Leninist principles and norms in the activity of every leading organ, every base organization and every communist. Only in this way can we perform the fundamental strategic tasks of the party for the full construction of the socialist society; only thus will no room be left either for shortcomings and weaknesses to flourish and become incurable diseases to be exploited by the class enemy for his own purposes, against the party, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist order. In point of fact, "a party that forges and insures such a unity on the basis of the principled and uncompromising class struggle"--Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us--"and on that basis daily builds and strengthens the unity of the people with it, politically and ideologically, increases its economic potential and its defensive power. The party must securely hold this key in its own hands." (Enver Hoxha, Reports and Speeches 1967-1968, pp 462-463).

10,002

CSO: 2100

ANTI-MARXIST NATURE OF YUGOSLAV SELF-MANAGEMENT SYSTEM

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albania No 9, Sep 77 pp 61-73

[Article by Omer Hashorva: "The Anti-Marxist Content of "Self-Administering Socialism"]

[Text] At the Seventh Party Congress, Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasized that Yugoslav revisionism, which is one of the main streams of modern revisionism, continues to be as dangerous as ever, since it offers readymade anti-Marxist and antisocialist concepts and practices to all revisionists, opportunists and other renegades of every stripe who follow the road of treason to Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and socialism. The Khrushchevian and Tolgiattist revisionists first, and then also other revisionists and opportunists have been inspired and continue to be inspired by the Yugoslav revisionists. Yugoslav revisionism likewise remains a preferred weapon of the international imperialist bourgeoisie in the fight against the revolution, socialism and liberation movements.

Therefore, our party, while concentrating its struggle primarily, as heretofore, against Khrushchevian Soviet revisionism as the main and most dangerous current of modern revisionism, has at the same time continued and will continue in the future its principled struggle against Yugoslav revisionism, to unmask its anti-Marxist and antisocialist theories and practices. In particular, the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have unmasked and will unmask in the future the demagoguery of the Yugoslav revisionists with regard to so-called "self-managing socialism," which is being advertised ever more loudly both by the Yugoslav revisionists themselves and by the modern revisionists and other opportunists to corrupt the Marxist-Leninist forces and the true revolutionary forces of the world.

Yugoslav revisionism has been trained as a special political and ideological agency of American and English imperialism ever since the period of the Second World War. After the war, the Yugoslav revisionists, keeping on their "socialist" and "communist" masks, placed themselves in the "Trojan Horse" and "fifth column" role within the socialist countries and the international communist movement to undermine and destroy socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat from within by diversion, agencies and plots.

But thanks to the vigilance and the resolute and principled struggle of J. V. Lenin and the Information Bureau, the Workers' Party of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha, the Yugoslav revisionists were exposed and unmasked worldwide as traitors to Marxism-Leninism and as agents of imperialism.

Thereafter, in keeping with the new conditions, the Yugoslav revisionists, continuing the role of political and ideological agents of imperialism, formulated and staged a whole system of revisionist and anti-Marxist views as a means of diversion against Marxism-Leninism, socialism and the revolution. Within this framework, the Yugoslav revisionists, in order to combat and discredit true socialism, began to advertise the construction in their country of "specific socialism," which, clothed with Marxist phraseology, is opposed to scientific socialism.

The core of the theorizings about "specific socialism" is the anti-Marxist idea that socialism cannot be one and single, but that different "kinds" of socialism can exist in different countries and times. The Yugoslav revisionists, speculating with the correct Marxist-Leninist thesis of the creative application of Marxism-Leninism under the particular conditions of each country and distorting that thesis, emphatically claim that no general laws common to all countries exist for the construction of socialism, that every country can build socialism as it pleases, and so forth.

Actually, Marxism-Leninism teaches us that there is only one socialism. Always and everywhere it is built on the basis of general laws and principles, which are the same and common to all countries and times, regardless of the specific conditions of each country. Such fundamental matters as the insurance of the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party, the preservation and continual strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the hegemonic role of the working class, the liquidation of capitalist ownership and the institution of socialist ownership of the means of production, the construction of socialism on the basis of the consistent development of the class struggle, the organization and management of the economy in a centralized and planned manner on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism, and so forth, are laws and principles necessary for all countries following the path of socialism, laws of a general character knowing no national boundaries. Naturally, in spite of the community of features and principal laws, it must be borne in mind in building socialism in different countries that the forms, methods and rate of construction of socialism can be different according to the concrete conditions of each country, but action must always be on the basis of those laws, not in denial of them, as the Yugoslav revisionists actually do.

At the beginning of the fifties the Yugoslav revisionists, defining concretely their anti-Marxist idea about "specific socialism," announced to the world that they were giving up the "state socialist system" which they had applied until then, allegedly because they had discovered a new kind of "socialism," the so-called "system of self-managing socialism." Actually, the essence of the "self-managing socialism" of the Yugoslav

revisionists is the idea that socialism cannot be built by concentrating the means of production in the hands of the socialist state and creating state ownership as ownership by all the people and as the highest form of socialist ownership, but by breaking up socialist state property into property owned by individual groups of workers, which allegedly self-administer it directly, at the same time renouncing the centralized and planned state management of the economy, under the pretext that this impedes and limits the democracy of the masses and inevitably leads to the bureaucratization of the socialist state. It is precisely this "kind of socialism" that has been labeled "self-managing socialism" by the Yugoslav revisionists, who represent it as, "the best way to express true socialist relations in production", "the highest form of socialist ownership" and "direct democracy in production", and so forth. The Yugoslav revisionists represent this kind of "socialism" as the only socialism based, allegedly, on the authentic ideas and teachings of Marx and Lenin, whereas they stick the labels of "dogmatic Stalinist socialism," "bureaucratic statist socialism," and so forth, on socialism truly based on Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the true teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

The whole theory and practice of "self-managing socialism" is, in form and content, a falsification and an open denial of the Marxist-Leninist theory of scientific socialism, a distortion of the true ideas of Marx and Lenin about socialism, reviving the old anarchical ideas and theories of Prudhomme and Bakunin, the "Worker Opposition" and other opportunists, and representing these old anti-Marxist and anti-socialist ideas as "something new in the worker movement."

Marx and Lenin constantly defended the idea that the socialist state, the dictatorship of the proletariat, must concentrate in its own hands all the principal means of production and convert them into state property, into the property of all the people, which is the highest form of socialist ownership, managed and administered by it in the name and interest of all workers in a centralized and planned manner. They combated and unmasked as anarchistic the Prudhommist views about "worker self-management" and "factories of the workers." Marx and Engels stressed already in the Manifesto of the Communist Party that "the proletariat uses its own political dominance to take all capital little by little out of the hands of the bourgeoisie and concentrate all the tools of production in the hands of the state, that is, the proletariat organized as a dominant class.." (K. Marx, F. Engels, Selected Works, vol. I, 1975 edition, p 42). V. I. Lenin likewise carried on a hard fight against the anarcho-syndicalist views of the anti-party group of the "Worker Opposition" declared during the first years of Soviet government, as this group, like the Yugoslav revisionists today, supported the idea of giving the factories to the workers and of having production managed and organized, not by the Soviet government, under the leadership of the Bolshevik party, but by a so-called "congress of producers," as representatives of the groups of individual workers. In criticizing these views, V. I. Lenin stressed that "from the theoretical viewpoint they are utterly erroneous, being in complete opposition to Marxism and Leninism." (V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 32, p 283).



Thus, the theoretical arguments about "self-managing socialism" are not Marxist, but, on the contrary, they are a variant of the ideas of the syndicalists and anarchists elevated to a dominant official line and ideology in a country where the revisionists are in power, such as Yugoslavia is. And indeed, the Yugoslav revisionists are now the greatest defenders of anarchism in the world.

The theoreticians of "self-managing socialism," in open opposition to Marxism-Leninism, preach that in this kind of "socialism" the role of the communist party must be purely ideological, must not lead in the economy, the government and the mass organizations, and must not even concern itself with cadre problems. The open denial of the leading role of the communist party in the construction of socialism, and its conversion into a purely "ideological and orienting factor" are lamely defended by the claiming that the party's leadership is incompatible with the true deciding role of the producing masses, which, according to them, must exercise their political influence directly and not through the communist party, as otherwise the role of the party becomes a "bureaucratic despotism," opposed to the construction of socialism.

These views are in open and flagrant opposition to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism for, as experience too proves, true socialism cannot be built without the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party. "If," declared V. I. Lenin, "the unity, strength and influence of the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat is weakened in the least, nothing else but the restoration of the rule and property of the capitalists and the landlords can result from this shock." (V. I. Lenin, Works, vol 32, pp 285-286).

The leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party not only does not impede the decisive role of the working class: on the contrary, under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party alone can the working class become a conscious and organized force, a decisive force, both in revolution and in the construction of socialism. On the other hand, as Comrade Enver Hoxha declares, "... denying the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party means leaving the working class without a directing staff, completely disarming the working class in the interest of the bourgeoisie and betraying the working class." (Enver Hoxha, Works, vol 14, p 262). Indeed, life has confirmed that it is not the insurance of the leading role of the communist party in government, the economy, the mass organizations, and so forth, but the weakening and undermining of that role that inevitably leads to bureaucratization and degeneration of the party, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist order itself. This has also been completely confirmed by the negative experience of Yugoslavia itself, the Soviet Union and the other ex-socialist countries. Tito himself has affirmed that "the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LKJ) has changed into an amorphous, apolitical organization." The result has been that it pursues a policy destructive of the life of the peoples of Yugoslavia. On the contrary, the positive experience of socialist construction in our

country clearly shows that the preservation and continual strengthening of the leading role of the party in all directions and areas has been and remains a chief factor in the successful construction of socialism in Albania. It is true that the masses play the decisive role in revolution and the construction of socialism, but always under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party.

And the preachings of the Yugoslav revisionists alleging that "socialism and the state, socialism and state ownership are incompatible notions," where "the dominant role of the state in managing the economy is only for a short time," for a "transitory" phase, depending upon "momentary interests," as, for example, the narrow economic base, great economic difficulties, and so forth, with the disappearance of which the necessity of the managing and organizing role of the socialist state in the economy will also disappear, are completely anti-Marxist. Marx and Lenin teach us that the experience in socialist construction confirms that not only is the socialist state preserved and strengthened continually throughout the whole period of transition from capitalism to communism, but its role as organizer and manager of state property in a planned and centralized manner is strengthened. Any departure from this fundamental principle leads to anarchistic and liberal positions, to the destruction of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the degeneration of the socialist society.

During the whole period of existence of the classes and the class struggle, when elements of "bourgeois justice without the bourgeoisie" are retained and operate in the field of compensation for labor, state ownership, as ownership by all the people, is the highest and leading form of social ownership. It is precisely this that makes possible and real the equal right of the working masses to the means of production, as well as to the appropriation of its products, on the basis of the quantity and quality of work performed by each member of the socialist society. This equality also makes it possible to establish true socialist relations in production among the workers. On the other hand, the concentration of the means of production in the hands of the proletarian state, that is, the hands of the working class organized as a dominant class, enables it to act as a hegemonic class in the whole life of the country and in all respects and areas of society. On the other hand, the fragmentation of social ownership and the creation of group ownership, as well as the denial of the state's directing role, leads, as has happened in Yugoslavia, to the division of the working class into separate groups opposed to one another, among which competition develops, in which each group tries to protect its own interests at the expense of the interests of all of society and the other groups of workers. Under these conditions, the working class in Yugoslavia no longer acts as a class united within the framework of the whole country, but has long since lost its role as a leading and directing class in present-day Yugoslav society. Having lost its party and power, the working class has changed from a leading class in power to a class oppressed and exploited by the new bourgeoisie, which has concentrated all the state power in its hands and uses it as a weapon against the working class and the working masses.

Indeed, the anti-state ideology of the Yugoslav revisionists has the aim, on the one hand, of sowing confusion and disruption in the ranks of the true Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries regarding the key problem of Marxist-Leninist doctrine, namely the question of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and, on the other hand, the aim of masking the degeneration of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia into a bourgeois party and the true capitalist and exploiting character of the present Yugoslav state, which not only has not been wiped out, as the Yugoslav revisionists claim, but has been growing continually stronger as a weapon in the hands of the new Yugoslav bourgeoisie to oppress and exploit the working masses and the peoples of Yugoslavia. The purpose of the Yugoslav revisionists, declares Comrade Enver Hoxha, is to use "leftist" slogans such as "worker self-management" to mask their rightist antisocialist and anti-Marxist stands which they need to take in order to mask the development of a particular type of capitalism.

But what kind of relations does the so-called "system of self-managing socialism" really represent?

The Yugoslav economy, included in the "self-management system," today represents a mass of enterprises separated from and independent of one another to which complete freedom of action has been given. These enterprises have the right to determine the very volume and structure of production, to invest capital where they please, to buy and sell means of production, to employ and discharge workers when they are not needed, to appear independently in the foreign and domestic market, and to fix the prices of products freely in accordance with market conditions, with supply and demand. Likewise, every enterprise produces whatever and as much as is to its advantage, regardless of what products are needed by society. The main purpose of production is profit, while the compensation for work in different enterprises differs on the basis of the profit afforded by each enterprise, and there is no identical measure for evaluating the compensation of all workers according to the quantity and quality of work, which is the sole correct principle of distribution of the product to the individual under socialism. Thus, the relations in production arising on the basis of the existence of ownership by a group are essentially capitalist relations, relations of oppression and exploitation, regardless of the fact that they are claimed by the Yugoslav revisionists to be socialist relations.

"The economic relations in any society," declared F. Engels, "appear above all as interests" (K. Marx - F. Engels, Selected Works, vol I, 1958 edition, p 590). Thus, if we proceed from an evaluation of the relations in production existing in Yugoslavia on the basis of the class criterion, that is, in whose interest that property is used and whom it serves, it is clear that the so-called property self-managed by separate groups of workers is a masked form of capitalist ownership, and that the relations in production based on it are likewise capitalist in nature. This truth is clearly expressed in the appropriation of revenues, an aspect of which

is also the relationship of wages between the workers and the directors of the self-managing enterprises--a relationship which, as Tito himself affirms, is one to twenty in Yugoslavia, indeed even reaches one to thirty. This means that, regardless of the fact that the whole group of workers is recognized as owners of the enterprise, the true owner in reality is the small group of its directors alone, since they, like the capitalist owners in the other bourgeois countries, appropriate the unpaid labor of the workers not only in the form of very high salaries, but also in the form of supplementary compensations and the many privileges which they enjoy. For example, the directing and engineering-technical personnel in the self-managed enterprises appropriates over 90 percent of the supplementary compensations distributed by the enterprises, uses the means of production as it pleases in its own interest, insures many honorariums from the foreign firms with which the self-managing enterprises cooperate. The directors of the self-administrating enterprises, having secured a large amount of capital, have deposited a part of it in various banks outside of the country. It is precisely these directors, together with the cadres of the other directing organs of the republics and the Federation, that get still higher pay and enjoy still larger compensations and privileges and form the new bourgeois class which lives on the unpaid work of the workers and makes the laws in Yugoslavia. Under these conditions, the relations between this new bourgeois class of bureaucrats and technocrats and the working masses are a relationship of oppression and exploitation, a capitalist relationship.

The Yugoslav revisionists try to represent "self-managing socialism" also as the "acme of a direct democracy of the producers," which allegedly places "man in the center of attention," and as "the true form of the dictatorship of the proletariat." Lenin, in criticizing the views of "democracy of production" defended by Bukharin, stressed that this concept is theoretically wrong because every democracy ultimately serves production and is determined by production. Hence, Lenin described as absurd the demand to separate "democracy of production" from any other democracy. "Democracy of production," he declared, "is a term that gives occasion for distorted interpretations. It can be understood as a denial of dictatorship and single direction. It can be understood as an encouragement of ordinary democracy or as a departure from it." (V. I. Lenin, Works, vol 32, p 80). And it is precisely in this way that the Yugoslav revisionists understand so-called "democracy of production" and use it for such purposes. On the other hand, it is absurd to deny the socialist state and allegedly accept the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of "direct democracy," as the Yugoslav revisionists do. The notions of socialist state and dictatorship of the proletariat are one and the same thing. Therefore, denying the one and accepting the other actually means being against the dictatorship of the proletariat. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin have always spoken of a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of a working class organized as a dominant class, that is, organized into a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is absurd to say that the working class can insure the broadest and fullest

democracy without a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Democracy, declared Lenin, is a form of state, and hence socialist democracy cannot exist except through a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Denial of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat is a denial of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and so of democracy itself for the working masses.

Actually, although "direct democracy" for the workers is proclaimed, the constitution of Yugoslavia itself, as well as the 1976 law "on unified work" declares the director, not the working class, to be the legal director of an enterprise and its activity and to be wholly free and independent in the exercise of his functions. The director has full authority to annul the decisions of the so-called "worker council," while the workers do not have the legal right either to choose or to demand the replacement of a director of an enterprise. Formally, the "worker council" is declared to be an organ representing and defending the workers' interests and enjoying a number of powers in managing and organizing production, but actually, concerning the fundamental problems of the self-managing enterprise, such as distribution of income, compensations, fixing of wages, employment and discharge of workers, and so forth, the decision is made by the director alone. The "worker council" represents a wholly formal organ, which is needed by the Yugoslav revisionists solely to advertise the claim that in the "self-managing system" the working classes enjoys true "democracy," whereas in fact the "worker council" defends and sanctions the director's will, not the workers' interests, since the representatives of these "councils," corrupted materially, politically and ideologically, have become members of the stratum of the "aristocracy" and the "worker bourgeoisie" which is used by the revisionist government as an ideological and political agency to deceive and disrupt the working class.

The fact that the directors of the enterprises and other central organs obtain incomes that permit them to lead a luxurious bourgeois life, the fact that enterprises are closed because of competition and workers are thrown out on the street, the fact that workers are incited to chase after profits, and so forth, clearly do not indicate the democratic character of the "self-managing socialist system," but a lack of democracy, the existence of relations of oppression and exploitation due to this so-called "socialist" system, which is actually capitalist.

In Yugoslavia private ownership of the means of production exists not only in its masked form, as "property administered by groups of workers," but also to a great extent in its ordinary form. Private property is also recognized and defended by law. Thus, the Yugoslav revisionists have issued a special law to encourage the private economy, which recognizes the right of "citizens to found enterprises" and to "employ labor." Many of these owners who are legally granted the right to employ up to five workers actually have more and receive incomes reaching several million dinars. Thus, the capitalist private sector is quite widespread in

Yugoslavia, and its further development is encouraged by the state and defended judicially as well by the Yugoslav constitution, which states that "private persons have the same economic-social position, the same rights and obligations as the workers in the economic-social organizations.

In Yugoslav agriculture, small private ownership is wholly dominant, occupying about 90 percent of the cultivable area. The right to buy and sell land is recognized, and day labor is used on a wide scale. This situation in Yugoslav capitalist agriculture is the consequence of the anti-Marxist course which the Yugoslav revisionists have pursued and are pursuing toward the countryside. At first, under the pressure of the masses and in order to deceive them, the Yugoslav revisionists undertook some initial steps to collectivize the countryside, but these actually were thoroughly demagogic in character. The Yugoslav countryside has not known even the beginning of any socialist reform, since the so-called "zadrugi" were a fraud. Actually, the economy of the rich peasants, the kulaks, was left untouched from the start, under the pretext that "the kulak is valuable to socialism," and that the accumulations made by the kulak farms were necessary for the construction of so-called "self-managing socialism" in Yugoslavia. Later, the Yugoslav revisionists openly abandoned the Leninist path of collectivization, terming it a form of "expropriation" and "pauperization" of the peasants. So even the zadrugi that had been established were abolished under the pretext that they had not proved their superiority in competition with the individual farm and that their establishment was the result of the "pressure of the bureaucratic Stalinist system." At present there exist in the Yugoslav countryside only a few farm cooperatives of the capitalist type, and purely commercial in character, since their whole function is reduced to the collective use of farm machinery and the collective sale of farm products.

To mask the restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia, the Yugoslav revisionists represent the "worker self-management" as a "new way" for the construction of the true socialist society. In reality, "it has been proved," as Comrade Enver Hoxha declared at the Seventh Party Congress, "that the Titoist "self-management" was an eclectic bourgeois doctrine which in Yugoslavia has led to permanent political and ideological confusion, to a weak and unequal economic development, great social differences, national quarrels and degeneration of spiritual life." (Enver Hoxha, Report to the Seventh Party Congress, p 265).

Today's reality shows that Yugoslavia is ruled by an economic-social system with all the features of capitalism, in which anarchy and general stagnation reign in production and all social life. In the present-day Yugoslav capitalist state democratic centralism and the state's role of sole direction have been wholly eliminated, and a pronounced anarchistic, sectional, localistic and individual spirit prevails. In this capitalist state all kinds of crimes flourish, especially theft, speculation, fraud, and so forth, through which many bourgeoisized cadres have become billionaires. In the economic and social life of Yugoslavia today may be

seen those consequences and phenomena which are characteristic of every capitalist country, such as the anarchical and haphazard development of production, the disproportionate development of the republics and the various branches of the economy, the continual rise in prices and the drop in the living standard of the work masses, the sharp competition between enterprises, resulting every year in the closing of more than 500 of the weaker enterprises. Industry is concentrated principally in Slovenia and Croatia and in a part of Serbia. The per capita income in those republics is two and a half times higher than in Kosovo, Macedonia and Montenegro. Kosovo continues to be one of the most backward provinces of Yugoslavia, with a quite low living standard and a pronouncedly retarded economic and cultural development.

One of the typical phenomena of the restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia are the crises which constantly afflict the Yugoslav economy, just as in the other capitalist and revisionist countries. Thus, during these last 15 years the Yugoslav economy has been visited three times by economic-financial crises, namely those of 1961-1962, 1968-1969 and that of the last few years. The crises in the capitalist world are also felt in their full force in Yugoslavia, for the reason that the economy of that country has become a component part of the world capitalist system and consequently is obliged to experience all the shocks of the market and finances of the capitalist world and is subject to all the conjunctural changes which the big monopolies impose upon their weakest partners. The Yugoslav revisionists themselves are obliged to confirm with their own mouths that "our economic and social system also embodies chronically unstabilized reproduction."

As a result of the anti-Marxist and antisocialist policy pursued by the Yugoslav revisionists, the capital of the monopolies of the United States, the German Federal Republic, France, England, Italy, and so forth have penetrated widely into Yugoslavia. Thus far, Yugoslavia has received over 11 billion dollars in loans, which constitute the economic base of Yugoslav revisionism. These many debts show that Yugoslavia does not have an independent economy of its own. They are also a clear and incontrovertible argument against the absurdities of the opportunitists, who claim that Yugoslavia is building socialism in reliance upon her own forces. The Yugoslav revisionists themselves have encouraged the penetration of foreign capital by issuing laws to facilitate the investment of foreign capital, to withdraw the state monopoly over foreign trade, and so forth. Thus, the Yugoslav economy has been made completely dependent upon foreign monopolies, which have seized the keys to the Yugoslav economy and are exploiting the national wealth and manpower, thus insuring big profits. Of a pronouncedly enslaving character are the many credits received from the USA, which the Yugoslav revisionists try to represent as serving the construction of socialism. But to claim that imperialism can help to build socialism is an absurdity, just as it is an absurdity, and a still greater one, to speak of the development of Yugoslavia "with her own forces," when she has received over 7 billion dollars in credits of a profoundly enslaving character from the USA alone.

An indication of the situation of the Yugoslav economy is the balance of payments for 1976, a year which closed with a loss of 18 billion dinars. The various enterprises see a continual rise in prices as the only way out of this situation. Thus, in 1965-1970 the prices of consumer articles rose 35 percent; in the period 1971-1973 they rose 61 percent. In recent years they have continued to rise at a galloping rate. During 8 months of this year alone, the prices of foodstuffs rose 18.4 percent, while the prices of services for the first 6 months of this year rose 13 percent. Thus, the cost of living increase 14.6 percent during 8 months of this year. The phenomenon of unemployment is another of the typical manifestations of the Yugoslav capitalist order. The Yugoslav revisionists themselves, making no effort to conceal this phenomenon, are obliged to admit that mass unemployment exists in Yugoslavia, reaching a figure of nearly one million. But at the same time, in order to justify it, they give "theoretical arguments" claiming that unemployment is a consequence of the "modernization" of production and the "rise in labor productivity." Such theorizings are contrary to the theory and practice of the construction of true socialism since one of the advantages of the socialist order over the capitalist is the fact that it does away with unemployment once for all--with this grave and inevitable plague of the capitalist order. But unemployment in Yugoslavia has its origin in the existing capitalist system itself, which in that country, as everywhere else, is unable to live without an army of unemployed, needed by the bourgeoisie as a means of exploiting the labor force to the utmost, by distributing it and the means of production on the basis of the operation of the law of value where the biggest profits are insured. Likewise, the Yugoslav bourgeoisie uses the army of unemployed as a means of pressure on those workers who are employed.

Connected with unemployment in Yugoslavia is another phenomenon having serious social consequences, namely the mass emigration of live creative forces. Indeed, the Yugoslav revisionists have even legally sanctioned this ugly capitalist phenomenon by adopting a law on the right of emigration of Yugoslav citizens. As a consequence, about 1,300,000 workers, technicians and specialists have been forced to leave their families and fatherland and to sell their manual and mental labor to the German, French, Belgian, Austrian and other capitalists. It is characteristic that 54.5 percent of the total number of workers who have emigrated are young, up to the age of 30. This sale of workers, this trade in human beings, is one of the ugliest sights in the present-day reality of the Yugoslav capitalistic society.

The degeneration of Yugoslavia into a capitalist country has also resulted in exacerbating the class contradictions between the workers and the Yugoslav bourgeoisie. In a good many cases, the workers of the Yugoslav enterprises, students and youths have engaged in strikes and protests against their oppression and exploitation, for improvement of working and living conditions, against the enrichment and corruption of the directors of the self-managing enterprises, and so forth. The participants in these movements have expressed not only economic demands but also political



protests, issuing appeals for "the abolition of economic and social differences," "the elimination of private enterprises," the obliteration of "political and moral corruption," and so forth.

Our party foresaw long ago that revisionism in Yugoslavia would revive the chauvinistic sentiments of a big state within the Yugoslav federation and the other nations, for the reason that capitalism oppresses the peoples, exploits them and rules over them with a whip. Anarchistic federalism itself and the so-called "new structure" established by the Yugoslav revisionists incite conflicts between the nationalities and among the republics. And indeed the national question in Yugoslavia, which is a federation consisting of six republics and several nationalities, has long been an acute problem, which has entered into a profound crisis, owing to the restoration of capitalism and the operation of its savage laws. The Yugoslav political scene, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed, is dominated by the "Greater Serbian" and "Greater Croatian" clans, between which a fierce struggle is being waged for power and hegemony. This struggle has been growing in bitterness and in a good many cases it has been waged in the open. This is what happened in 1967, when Tito succeeded in eliminating the representative of the "Greater Serbians," Rankovic. The same also happened during the years 1971-1973, when Tito again eliminated the attempts of the leaders of the other Serbian republics to gain hegemony, and so forth.

The Yugoslav leadership, confronted with a profound and general national crisis, has resorted to both force and demagoguery. It has tried to represent the struggles for power between the various nationalistic bourgeois groups as contrary to the interests of the working class and socialism in Yugoslavia, in order to avoid any revolutionary outbreak of the working class and the working masses and to get them on their side and use them as tools in their own hegemonistic interests. For this purpose, the leadership has even come forth with "self-criticism," pledging itself, in the name of "socialism," to eliminate every "deformation" and to put a "stop" to all negative manifestations and phenomena. For the same demagogic purposes, the Yugoslav revisionists use slogans about an alleged return to positions of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the strengthening of the positions of the working class, the struggle against "class differentiation," "national inequality," against nationalism, chauvinism, separatism, and so forth.

But the contradictions and sharp conflicts on the national question in Yugoslavia are neither casual nor temporary. They have their basis in the anti-Marxist ideology and policy of the Yugoslav leadership, in the very capitalistic nature of the social order which has been established in Yugoslavia and of the savage laws of that order. Therefore, they cannot be resolved either by reforms or by demagoguery, as the Yugoslav revisionists are trying to do. Their reforms to create a so-called "collective presidency," and so forth, are aimed at creating the impression of a restoration of national equality between the peoples of Yugoslavia, whereas the promises to help the backward republics have not changed anything in

the Yugoslav reality. It is absurd to think that the bourgeoisie of Croatia, Serbia, and so forth, with their strongly consolidated economic, political, ideological and military positions, can reconcile themselves voluntarily to the establishment of national and social equality or contribute voluntarily to the establishment of national and social equality or contribute voluntarily to the development of the backward republics or provinces.

The tendency of the various bourgeois groups to break away from the center of the federation, the struggle and open conflicts for power between the most powerful groups of the Yugoslav revisionist bourgeoisie are inevitable fellow-travelers since they have their basis in the capitalist nature of the economic-social order existing in Yugoslavia. The LKJ (League of Communists of Yugoslavia) and its revisionist leadership are themselves the representatives and defenders of the interests of the new bourgeois class and the bearers and propagators of nationalism and chauvinism, of enmity between the nationalities, and of their backwardness. Therefore, the national question in Yugoslavia cannot be resolved within the framework of the capitalist order by reforms and promises. The national problem, as Marxism-Leninism teaches us, can be resolved only under the conditions of true socialism and only on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist principles concerning the national question. The hegemonistic and chauvinistic policy pursued by the Yugoslav revisionists, the national quarrels and oppression, the unequal development of the peoples of the Yugoslav federation and other facts clearly show the falsity of the views of the revisionists and other opportunists who attempt to represent Yugoslavia as a model for the solution of the national question, allegedly on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles.

The present situation in Yugoslavia fully confirms the rightness of the predictions by the Workers' Party of Albania, which has long since foreseen where the anti-Marxist and antisocialist line of the revisionist Yugoslav leadership would lead Yugoslavia. Standing loyal to the interests of the revolution, socialism, and the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, "Our party, as always," declared Comrade Enver Hoxha to the Seventh Party Congress, "will continue in the future to fight to unmask the sham and danger presented by the Yugoslav version of revisionism." (Enver Hoxha, Report to the Seventh Party Congress, p 266).

10,002  
CSO: 2100

FOREIGN VISITORS LAUD ALBANIAN SUCCESSES

Delegations of Foreign Visitors

Tirana SHQIPTARJA E RE in Albanian Nov 77 p 18

[Article: "Foreigners Speak About Albania"]

[Excerpts] During the month of September, various delegations and friends of Albania visited our country. A delegation from the Union of Antifascist and Revolutionary Women of Portugal, headed by Manuela Juncal, member of the Secretariat of this union; a delegation from the Women's Union of Tanzania, headed by Raja Kamis Salum, national chairman of the women's organization of Zanzibar and a delegation of revolutionary women of Italy, headed by Carla Pace came for visits of friendship upon invitation from the leadership of the General Council of the Albanian Women's Union. In the office of the leadership of the Albanian Women's Union, Comrade Vito Kapo [president of the General Council of the Albanian Women's Union] also received Elian Vogel, president of the Friends of New Albania Friendship Association in Belgium and professor at the Free University of Brussels, as well as Dr Abraham Behar, general secretary of the French-Albanian Friendship Association and a member of the leadership of this association, Madelen Estryng Behar, who were visiting Albania.

Contribution to World Marxist-Leninist Movement

Tirana SHQIPTARJA E RE in Albanian Nov 77 p 18

[Article by Karen Wagner, editor in chief of the newspaper Roter Morgen, central organ of the Communist Party of Germany (Marxist-Leninist): "Albania--a Brilliant Beacon of Socialism Not Only in Europe But Also in the Entire World"]

[Excerpts] At the invitation of the editorial board of ZERI I POPULLIT, we spent two and one-half weeks in Albania. We are tied by the same bonds of proletarian internationalism to the Albanian people and their

Workers Party, headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha. Every German communist who comes to Albania naturally visits a foreign country but he does not feel that he is a foreigner. Albania, the beacon of socialism not only in Europe but also in the entire world, is for the German communists and the German proletariat a second homeland, just as workers throughout the world once considered the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin.

We rejoice in each success of Albania as our own success and we consider any attack against Albania and its glorious party as an attack against us.

All the successes of Socialist Albania, which excite the proletariats and oppressed peoples throughout the world, have been possible because the Albanian Workers Party consistently follows the eternal principles of Marxism-Leninism. The party guides the Albanian people in the building of socialism and in all aspects of social life. The seventh party congress which has historic importance not only for Albanian communists and the Albanian people but also for the world Marxist-Leninist movement, stressed this fact. The party has made and is making a decisive contribution to the strengthening and reinforcing of the world Marxist-Leninist movement, having as a basis Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism as well as the struggle against imperialism, social imperialism, reaction, and revisionism and against the new international opportunism. In the months which have passed since the congress, this has been proven more and more. During these months, the number of friends of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania among the German workers has increased. Now they know that in Albania, as a true socialist country, all the people are armed and that Albania is the only country in the world in which there is no type of tax, in which medical service is free, etc.

The narrowing of the gap between wages to a 1 to 2 ratio, which is the most equitable in the world and the approval of the new constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, which is the most progressive constitution in the world are brilliant successes of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the Marxist-Leninist policy of the Workers Party during these times. These things have been greeted with great enthusiasm by the German workers. This is because they show our workers that socialism is not Utopia and that it does not always have to degenerate, as the bourgeoisie claim. And they show much more--that socialism is a concrete reality and that the future belongs to socialism alone.

CSO: 2100

## ALBANIA

### ATTACK ON 'THREE WORLDS THEORY' CONTINUES IN PRESS

#### Dangers in Economic Sphere

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 17 Dec 77 p 3

[Article by Prof Deko Rusi: "Achievements and Tasks in the Field of Economic Sciences"]

[Excerpts] The creation, speedy development, and achievements of our Marxist-Leninist economic science, enlightened by the party line and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, are the result of the profound revolutionary processes and the historic victories which our country has experienced.

Our party and Comrade Enver have made a thorough analysis of the main contradictions of our times. On the basis of this analysis we have the task of undertaking profound studies aimed at uncovering the socioeconomic and political roots of these contradictions in the relentless struggle with anti-Marxist theories which attempt to conceal the class content and the very existence of these contradictions. These include theories on the so-called change in the nature of capitalism, on industrial society, the theory of the convergence of the two systems, the three worlds theory, etc. In order to execute this task, it is essential that our economists thoroughly study and analyze the new phenomena of imperialism and social imperialism. In this way, we will be able to explain and criticize, in the most complete, most principled, and best documented way, the "theories" of the modern revisionists and opportunists.

Under conditions of the sharpening of the class struggle at the national and international level and the involvement of our party in this struggle, a matter of special importance for students in the field of economic sciences is the further deepening of the analysis of the manifestations, consequences, and special characteristics of the complete restoration of capitalism in all the revisionist countries and the forms of decay which it brings with the passage of time. The detection and profound analysis of these regressive

counter-revolutionary processes also have practical importance because, while studying the negative experience of the former socialist countries, our party is in a position to take the necessary measures so that these phenomena will never occur in Albania.

#### Dangers in Ideological Sphere

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 29 Dec 77 p 3

[Article by Shpresa Zenelaj, assistant rector of Tirana University: "The Marxist-Leninist Theoretical Thought of the Party Is at the Foundation of the Scientific-Educational Process"]

[Excerpts] In our school, priority is given to political education and to the thorough and creative assimilation of proletarian ideology. However, in the framework of the struggle carried on by our party to defend and enrich Marxism-Leninism against bourgeois and revisionist ideology, the university departments have the task of expanding and elaborating studies connected with the generalization of the theoretical and practical thought of the party, with the reflection of the experience of building socialism in the country, making this the main objective of the social sciences. This requires that teachers and scientific workers have a good knowledge of party ideology and its theoretical and practical contribution and that the criticism of the reactionary view and theories of modern revisionism and of various opportunistic currents be strengthened on this basis.

In the field of literature, criticism of decadent currents of all kinds is carried on by means of broad scientific arguments on the political, philosophical, and aesthetic level, but this must be further expanded in the future, especially against the attacks of bourgeois and revisionist theoreticians against socialist realism. In the field of history, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, criticism is being expanded against reactionary bourgeois-revisionist views of all hues, against Titoist and Khrushchevite revisionism, the so-called theories of "Eurocommunism" and "the three worlds," etc., which deny the legitimacy of the revolutionary development of humanity, conceal the basic contradictions of our times, try to immortalize the capitalist system, to minimize and distort the role of the masses in history, especially the role of the proletariat and its dictatorship.

In these circumstances, the social science departments have important duties, which require theoretical generalizations and sound scientific arguments in regard to the interpretation of events. Therefore, more studies will be undertaken, studies in which the reactionary core of these views and pseudo-theories will be uncovered and exposed, by means of convincing arguments.

In the technical and natural sciences, the Marxist-Leninist ideological axis has also been strengthened and the spirit of criticism against idealistic and metaphysical interpretations of things and phenomena has been expanded.

---

A greater role is being played by scientific criticism against speculations which are being made today by bourgeois and revisionist ideologists in regard to new achievements in these sciences. In the work of our departments there is room for more thorough criticism of these falsifications and distortions. In the execution of the duties set by the Seventh Party Congress, in some theoretical sciences, such as biology, genetics, mathematics, physics, and chemistry, it has been stipulated that, by means of studies planned for the future, there will be a more thorough unmasking of the ideological and philosophical base on which reactionary bourgeois and revisionist ideologists rely in order to explain the phenomena of nature and society.

Year after year, the involvement of teachers and students in productive work and in physical and military education and in the struggle against foreign intellectualistic manifestations increases and their sense of responsibility for the great problems of the country and for the defense of the fatherland has also increased.

In all fields of the superstructure, including science, a harsh class struggle is being waged. The ideological content and the spirit of revolutionary party-mindedness in science have been strengthened in the struggle against manifestations of objectivism which have appeared in some of our texts, against technocratic and intellectualistic concepts aimed at eradicating correct concepts on the role of specialization in education as a weapon in the service of the dictatorship of the proletariat, on the linking of education and science with life, with production, and with the current problems of building socialism in Albania.

CSO: 2100

## ALBANIA

### THEORIES OF 'INDEPENDENCE' OF MASS ORGANIZATIONS CONDEMNED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 7 Sep 77 p 2

[Article by Xhorxhi Robo, secretary of the General Council of the Albanian Democratic Front: "The Democratic Front Organization--A Work of the Party"]

[Excerpts] The only directing and guiding force in our dictatorship of the proletariat is the party. Without the party and its leading role, the Democratic Front, just as the other mass organizations, cannot exist as a truly democratic and popular organization, which expresses and protects the interests of the masses. Our party has continually rejected and exposed the revisionist, liberal-anarchistic preaching which, allegedly in the name of democracy, preach the "independence" of these organizations from the party. This independence which they preach is no other than independence from proletarian policy and ideology to the benefit of bourgeois policy and ideology. This "independence," which is opposed to the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the mass organizations are levers for linking the party with the masses, is false. The Albanian Workers Party has always been vigilant and has always strongly fought the revisionist, reformist, and opportunistic preachings, the empty slogans which allegedly were suited to the "specific conditions" of various countries. Every deviation from the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism results inevitably in defeat for the party and the revolution. Our party has seen and still sees the Front as a key link in the political union of the people with the party, as a great tribune for enlightening and educating the workers on the party line, for educating all workers in the spirit of revolutionary patriotic traditions, and mobilizing them to carry out their duties to prepare themselves politically and militarily for the defense of our socialist fatherland.

CSO: 2100



ALBANIA

UNJUSTIFIED ABSENCES FROM LOWER-LEVEL PARTY MEETINGS CONDEMNED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 17 Nov 77 p 2

[Article by Mehmet Elezi: "Party Life--Some 86 Extraordinary Absences"]

[Excerpts] They tell us that there have been instances of violation of party discipline in the party bureau of the apparatus of the Executive Committee of the People's Council of Korce District. For example, there have been cases of absences from meetings.

The secretary of the bureau keeps three record books. In each of them, in special columns, the absences of the communists are recorded. These include absences from meetings of the organization, from education programs, and from meetings of groups of organizations working on themes from the Seventh Party Congress. In the basic organization, which includes the sections for industry, construction, education, and the communal economy, the total number of these absences, from last year's elections to September of this year, was 86. Of these, only 2 absences from education programs are termed "unjustified" while the other 84 are justified. Some communists were absent as many as 12 times.

For example: Comrade Jonuz Drishti, deputy chairman of the executive committee, was absent 5 times from meetings of the basic organization, 2 times from education programs, and 5 times from meetings of groups of organizations working on themes from the Seventh Party Congress; Dhori Kono [sic--published "Konomi" elsewhere in article], chief of the sector for the communal economy, was absent from the organization meetings 5 times and from the other meetings 3 and 4 times respectively; Lefter Pelteku, chief of the construction-communication section, was absent from the basic organization meetings 3 times and from the other meetings 2 and 3 times respectively.

With the exception of a few cases, the words "on assignment" were written beside the names of the absentees. There are communists who do not thoroughly understand the importance of the basic organization as the foundation of the party. When the ministry calls them, they go in a great

hurry while they do not give the required attention to the basic organization. Naturally, it would be a mistake to be absent from sessions called by the ministry. This is a party duty and failure to give it proper attention is detrimental to work in the sector to which a person is assigned. But if you are absent from a meeting of the basic organization, it is a very serious mistake and is blameworthy because it violates the norms of the party and is detrimental to the party.

Let us return to the executive committee. What were these absences for?

Comrade Jonuz Drishti: "For almost three months I was at a course at the headquarters of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers in Tirana. There were other cadres there from all districts, chairmen of committees and other comrades. They, too, did not keep in touch with the party. However, I feel sincerely that I should not have been absent."

The secretary of the bureau: "When I was at a course for two or three weeks, I did not keep in touch. Neither did another deputy chairman."

Lefter Pleteku: "Once, the deputy chairman and I risked our lives to come to the meeting of the basic organization. Our car broke down. So we missed the meeting. Facts are facts."

There is no doubt that the comrades were busy with work. But this does not give these comrades any privilege but, on the contrary, increases their responsibility. As we can see, these comrades are managers. It is evident that some of these comrades do not have a clear understanding of the principle that our party does not have two disciplines--one for managers and one for subordinates but has only one discipline for all--the discipline of the party. Comrade Enver stressed: "There are no hierarchies, grades or titles in the party organization. The principles and norms of the party are obligatory and must be implemented by every communist; otherwise the party is not protected and strengthened."

The party committee of Korce District has understood this problem and has re-instituted a resolution issued by it at the end of 1974. Groups have been established consisting of plenum members, workers from the apparatus, communists, veterans, and other qualified comrades. These groups will go into the basic organizations where there have been manifestations of liberalism, not merely to record violations of discipline but also to explain the norms of the party.

CSO: 2100

## ALBANIA

### 'ISOLATION' OF ALBANIA FROM WORLD DENIED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 26 Nov 77 p 3

[Article by Dhimiter S. Shuteriqi "Lesson from History"]

[Excerpts] Some 65 years ago, our people created their own free national state. The creation of the Albanian Communist Party in 1941 was that historic necessity which made it possible to achieve complete self-reliance, putting into motion all popular forces with their rapid and colossal development in all directions. In 1944, our people secured their own free state, completely their own, by means of their new leadership.

Our people, in more and more dramatic situations, having had to deal with successive foreign and domestic betrayals and demolishing the attacks of fiercer and fiercer enemies, are building socialism with unrestrained enthusiasm. Foreign and domestic revisionists, those new aggressors and Balli supporters [Balli Kombetar--National Front--WW II anti-Communist organization], wanted to turn Albania into a "seventh republic" of a federation, while striving to revive buried mistrust by saying that little Albania could not make it on its own.

Albania has become a symbol of socialist victory. Some people call us "Isolated" and threaten us with encirclement. Encirclement does not frighten the Albanians. More and more, day by day, the socialist truths which Albania is defending, come from all sides out of Albania and link more people with Albania; so we are not isolated. The day will soon come when peoples will isolate them [the critics of Albania] and Marxism will triumph. Therefore, the Albanians, led by their Marxist party, will continue the struggle tooth and nail.

The history of our days will learn and has learned a lesson from this. Life has shown how the revisionists of all hues and all calibers, with their slogans of "peaceful coexistence" (coexistence between crocodiles and sharks), with their struggle against "the cult of the personality" (by those who promote the cults of dwarfs), with their "historic compromise with the bourgeoisie"--with the Yankees, the Pope, Zionism, and others (their horrible historic betrayal), are diametrically opposed to Marxist truth and life has shown disastrous consequences they have brought about in the Soviet Union and everywhere, in politics, the social system, and the economy, for all.

## BULGARIA

### BULGARIAN ARMY DAILY REVIEWS IRAQI-BULGARIAN TALKS

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 7 Jan 78 p 3 AU

[Ivan Undzhiev "Weekly International Review"--"People's Republic of Bulgarian-Iraq: New Prospects for Cooperation"]

[Excerpt] The official visit of Taha Muhyi al-Din Ma'ruf, vice president of the Republic of Iraq, has become an expression of the ascending line along which Bulgarian-Iraqi relations have been developing in recent years. The visit was part of the regular consultations held at various levels between Bulgaria and Iraq to deal with development of bilateral relations and with international problems of mutual interest.

The friendly relations existing between the Bulgarian and Iraqi peoples are based on good traditions. Our socialist country rejoiced at the national democratic revolution that took place in Iraq on 17 July 1968 and opened new opportunities for progressive socioeconomic changes in this young republic. The Bulgarian people welcome the successes achieved by Iraq, following these events, along the path of building an independent national industry and of creating a modern agricultural sector, and welcome the considerable social and cultural achievements of the Iraqi people.

Bulgarian-Iraqi relations are harmoniously developing in the economic, political, and cultural sectors. A characteristic feature of our economic and scientific-technical cooperation is the fact that it is being built on a long-term basis and envisages production sharing and specialization in a number of branches of industry and agriculture. The trade exchange is steadily expanding. Iraq is one of Bulgaria's most important trade partners among the newly liberated countries. Our industrial goods are well known on the Iraqi markets. We are exporting machines, equipment and entire plants to Iraq. Bulgaria's participation in the building of roads, bridges and a number of important projects in Iraq is considerable. Hundreds of Bulgarian specialists--building experts, geologists and others--are working in this friendly country. Many Iraqi students are being trained in Bulgarian higher education institutions.

The accelerated development of Bulgarian-Iraqi cooperation in the last 5 years is a direct result of the meetings and talks between the first leaders

of the two countries--Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr, president of Iraq. The ascending line of bilateral relations was noted during the present visit of Iraq's vice president, when he was received by Comrade Todor Zhivkov. We must note that during their talk particular attention was devoted to the Middle East situation.

The present visit of Iraq's vice president, as well as the official talks and the documents signed, confirmed the resolve of both sides to continue to develop relations of friendship and sincere comradeship, based on the common interests of the Bulgarian and Iraqi peoples. They opened new prospects for an even more dynamic development of manysided Bulgaria-Iraqi cooperation.

CSO: 2200

## BULGARIA

### BCP DAILY REPORTS OPENING OF BULGARIAN-IRAQI TALKS

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgaiian 5 Jan 78 pp 1,2 AU

[Text] Official talks between Petur Tanchev, first deputy chairman of the State Council and Taha Muhyi al-Din Ma'ruf, vice president of the Republic of Iraq, opened yesterday at the "Boyana" residence.

On the Bulgarian side the following officials attended the talks: Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs; Gancho Krustev, minister of agriculture and food industry and chairman of the Bulgarian side of the Bulgarian-Iraqi Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation Committee; Veselin Nikiforov, chairman of the Bulgarian National Bank; Angel Angelov, Bulgarian ambassador to Baghdad, and Todor Stoyanov, chief of section at the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

On the Iraqi side the following officials participated in the talks: Sa'dun Hammadi, minister of foreign affairs; Fakhri Guadduri, governor of the Central Bank and head of the Economic Affairs Office at the Revolution Command Council, and Ahmad Husayn al-Samarra'i, Iraqi ambassador to Bulgaria, as well as (Uiqam al'zakhau), head of section at the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs. High-ranking Bulgarian and Iraqi government functionaries and economic experts also participated in the talks.

In the sector of international relations, support was expressed for the policy of detente and disarmament. It was stressed that consolidation of security in Europe exerts a beneficial influence on consolidation of universal peace. It was noted that it is necessary to establish just international economic relations. Particular attention was devoted to the situation in the Middle East. Other international questions of mutual interest were discussed.

Questions of bilateral relations were also dealt with. The contribution of the two state leaders--Todor Zhivkov and Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr--to the successful development of friendly relations between Bulgaria and Iraq was pointed out. It was determined that opportunities exist to further expand and intensify these relations in various fields of life.

The talks were held in a spirit of mutual respect, understanding and friendship.

JIRI HAJEK ASSESSES PRAGUE SPRING, CHARTER 77

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 2 Jan 78 pp 63-67 DW

[Interview with Jiri Hajek, former CSSR foreign minister and spokesman of Charter 77, by unidentified reporter in Prague]

[Text] SPIEGEL: Mr Hajek, 10 years have passed since Party Chief Novotny was replaced by Alexander Dubcek and one of the most interesting experiments of socialism began, the Prague Spring. What remains of it?

Hajek: Most of all the idea of socialism with a human face. The idea that democracy and human rights must be institutionalized and guaranteed for the sake of progressive development of the society.

SPIEGEL: It could be realized at an early stage that nothing but the idea would remain of the Prague Spring. Do you think that the August 1968 intervention was avoidable?

Hajek: That is hard to say. I believe that the leadership at that time under Alexander Dubcek did everything to avoid a violent clash. Who knows whether that would have been really avoidable? We knew very little about the considerations of our Soviet allies.

SPIEGEL: How would it have gone on without an intervention?

Hajek: We never imagined that this development would be idyllic. We knew that we would have to wage war at two fronts--not only against the Stalinists, but also against certain extremists who imagined democratic developments to be too boundless.

SPIEGEL: What does that mean concretely?

Hajek: You see, our democratization process was taking place under certain geographic and historic conditions; you must never forget that. I was fearing at that time that some of our friends would not think of these conditions at all. They were not numerous, and yet it was a

process of fermentation, a process containing certain explosive elements too.

SPIEGEL: Do you mean party pluralism, for instance, when you say "explosive"?

Hajek: Yes. It was realistic to keep social pluralism within the framework of the National Front. Of course that did not rule out the existing parties. But it also did not rule out the creation of a new party.

SPIEGEL: You were a Social Democrat who joined the Communist Party after the 1948 merger. Did a role for Social Democrats exist in the reformist communism of 1968?

Hajek: I do not think so. Our historic and geographic position particularly did not offer any space for a renovation of the Social Democratic Party in Czechoslovakia. I said that repeatedly to my friends. In making this review now I cannot change my opinion either.

SPIEGEL: During the Prague Spring certain signs indicated economic stagnation. Would the government and the party of the reformers have managed to get through a longer time of hardship in 1968?

Hajek: I believe that the party and the management achieved a degree of confidence as never before. With this confidence in our honest efforts we would have managed to overcome a certain economic weakness. By the way: I am no economic expert, but I believe that in 1968 there were signs of an upward trend until the intervention took place.

SPIEGEL: After the intervention you as the CSSR foreign minister have held an impressive speech at the UN Security Council. Should the world and particularly the Western powers have reacted differently in August 1968?

Hajek: We did not expect the Western powers to act differently from how they acted. I can say that because I had a talk with Henry Kissinger in early April in Mariánské Lázně. He confirmed that the existing partition of the world was mutually considered an element of stability on the basis of peaceful coexistence. Mutually. And that every disturbance of that balance naturally would have unforeseeable consequences.

SPIEGEL: Signs indicate that the Moscow decision in favor of an intervention was not made unanimously. Who was the propelling force in favor of an intervention, in your opinion?

Hajek: The fact created some hope that according to our knowledge the Moscow leadership was not determined from the very beginning to intervene: there was the expectation that a sensible policy would guarantee the democratization process to remain within our alliance commitment, protecting us that way against a solution by force.



SPIEGEL: Which turned out to be an error, unfortunately.

Hajek: You are right, that was an illusion.

SPIEGEL: Do the Prague reformists identify themselves with what has been recently called Eurocommunism? What unites them with the programs of the communist parties of France, Italy or Spain?

Hajek: Most of all the idea that socialism cannot function in a highly industrialized society without democracy. That unites us also with Rosa Luxemburg. Some time ago I read in DER SPIEGEL an article by Professor Havemann and quotations from a brochure of Rosa Luxemburg about the Russian revolution, which I, too, quoted in some of my papers.

SPIEGEL: Does Eurocommunism have a chance at all within Moscow's sphere of influence?

Hajek: Theoretically you could imagine that. Practically, however, we experienced that our Soviet comrades consider their own model as obligatory. We thought erroneously that we could continue acting within the Eastern Alliance even if we were deviating from this model.

SPIEGEL: This Soviet model in the meantime experienced a development, although a very moderate one. In addition, the world political situation has changed considerably. Do you believe that the Soviet Union would react again as it did in 1968?

Hajek: I believe that the Soviet comrades, too, have learned certain lessons from the general reaction to the intervention. I hope so at least.

SPIEGEL: After the intervention it looked at first as if Moscow would abstain from getting even with the Prague reformers. Alexander Dubcek remained in office until the spring of 1969. No reformers have been used until the present date, at least not under that accusation. Was it up to the reformers to bring influence to bear on developments after August 1968?

Hajek: If we had been led by Alexander Dubcek, we would certainly have had more possibilities to influence developments. But unfortunately our leadership was disunited and not determined enough to implement its program.

SPIEGEL: In contrast to Czechoslovakia, Hungary had a much more bloody clash with the Soviets who wanted to stop liberalization with arms. But this liberalization was carried on step by step by Kadar later on. Would that have been possible in Czechoslovakia too?

Hajek: We thought that too, but maybe it was possible to take these steps because real fighting was taking place in Hungary, because bloodshed really was taking place in Hungary, and because the old Stalinists under Rakosi had been eliminated in Hungary prior to Kadar. In our country, however, so-called normalization was implemented mostly by elements you could term Stalinist or neo-Stalinist.

SPIEGEL: Professor Hajek, you were not just foreign minister of the CSSR under Dubcek, you are the spokesman of Charter 77 for 1 year. Many members of that civil rights movement are, like you, declared advocates of the 1968 reforms. Do the people consider the charter as something that will continue its efforts aimed at reforms?

Hajek: It does not consider itself a movement but something it really is, an initiative of citizens, a community on the basis of the existing law and order. Within the framework of that existing legal order it acts for guaranteeing and implementing human rights. It is only natural that Charter 77 picks up where the Prague Spring halted, not demanding a change of the political system, but adherence to legal norms.

SPIEGEL: Was it tactically wise in view of implementation chances that such prominent reform advocates as Professor Huebl or Jiri Mueller, who were eventually released from prison shortly before Christmas 1976, were partaking in Charter 77 a bit later, that is in January 1977?

Hajek: You see, Charter 77 is no organization, it is an initiative of citizens, open for everybody who is honest toward the people. It is for me, therefore, most difficult to say whether it was correct that this or that person supported the initiative. I assess the participation of the friends you mentioned in Charter 77 very positively.

SPIEGEL: Was there a certain reason why Charter 77 was published on 1 January 1977?

Hajek: Yes. There were domestic political reasons. In October 1976 the UN Convention of Human Rights was published in our legal gazette No 120, thus becoming official. This is why the human rights issue came up again in various circles of friends, and why the idea came up eventually to establish a citizens' initiative.

SPIEGEL: The spokesmen of the charter stressed repeatedly that the charter was signed not just by intellectuals but by workers also. And yet the list of names looks like a handbook of the intellectual life of Prague.

Hajek: Among the names mentioned there, those of the intellectuals naturally are well known. But it was really surprising for us how many workers approached us with the demand that we accept their signature.

SPIEGEL: How did the workers learn about the intention and the text anyway?

Hajek: Over many detours. It was the great merit of the official leadership that a campaign was started against us immediately after the appearance of the Charter 77, a campaign in which they said a lot about the charter without making it known, however, what is written in it. Naturally this whetted the curiosity of many people. They approached us. The names of some signatories became known only by this campaign. At the time we were visited and called by many strangers. It is also possible that the text of the charter became known through foreign radio broadcasts.

SPIEGEL: This widespread curiosity probably was also the reason why the party and the government very quickly discontinued the campaign again.

Hajek: Oh well, not so quickly; it lasted for quite some time, but it helped us. For at various meetings they thundered against the charter, and they demanded that the workers vote against the charter. There were people courageous enough to say that they could not vote on something that they did not even know, but in most cases they voted against us, simply to be left alone.

SPIEGEL: Why are no peasants among the supporters of the charter?

Hajek: On the whole I believe that the rural population is fairly well off and does not feel the curtailment of its civil rights as much as other strata of the people do.

SPIEGEL: Would this also explain why no Slovaks have been among the charter supporters so far?

Hajek: I did receive some letters from Slovakia, but these are individuals.

The Slovaks retained a lot more of the achievement of 1968 than the Czechs, above all the federalization which was an important step in the development of their own nation, and the Slovaks, I think, as a whole also were much wiser. Even the party conservatives in Slovakia were wiser, or perhaps just weaker, than those in the Czech regions.

SPIEGEL: How do you explain the strange contradictory reaction of the incumbent party leadership to the charter? First an organized witch-hunt reminiscent of the fifties, and then suddenly the silence of a graveyard. Are they hoping that the charter advocates will be forgotten?

Hajek: Yes, I believe that this witch-hunt, as you call it, has developed into a boomerang and that the organizers must have realized this.

SPIEGEL: What do you mean by that?

Hajek: When the charter was inflated into a great danger the curiosity of the people was aroused. And in this connection the people discovered that the charter pursues something entirely different from what the official propaganda had contended: that the citizens' initiative is not an antisocialist, counterrevolutionary, state-endangering activity.

SPIEGEL: Do you, under the present realities, still deem it sensible to achieve the dialog between yourself and the party leadership, a dialog which you desire?

Hajek: I definitely deem it sensible. It is a different matter, however, whether it can be achieved. This society must develop forward somehow. The attempt of 1968 was foiled, but the problems remain. And one of the problems which became visible by 1968 is the very question concerning an individual's participation in the development of this society.

SPIEGEL: The charter advocates, too, who so far have published 14 documents, lately have become softer in tone.

Hajek: We have also issued in the meantime some other documents which were not numbered. We always approach our constitutional organs whose attention we are drawing to various problems.

SPIEGEL: For instance?

Hajek: On the occasion of the opening of the Belgrade CSCE followup conference in early October we sent a letter to the president of the republic in which we described the objectives of the charter and of the civil-rights advocates in summary. What may be hardly known in the West is that we also dispatched a letter to Oldenburg in the Federal Republic in which we define our stance toward the ban on professions.\* We pointed out that in our case, in the CSSR, we also have a problem with the ban on professions for political reasons which, by its extent and consequences, is much more serious than that in the Federal Republic. We will not stay silent in the future either.

SPIEGEL: There have been indications lately that some charter supporters no longer approve of the tactics currently employed. Above all younger people are urging actions. Do you see a danger in this?

Hajek: To begin with, I do not think that the discussion among the different circles of the charter participants is bringing any action beyond the framework in which the charter is moving. By my experience

---

\*"International Conference for the Observation of the Basic and Human Rights in the FRG" on 12/13 November in Oldenburg.

all charter supporters are agreed that the action taken by the charter should take place on the basis and within the framework of the legal order. There may be singular proposals which would like to go beyond this framework, but I do not believe that they are typical of the charter.

SPIEGEL: And you think that the charter can bear such differences?

Hajek: The charter is not an organization. It does not have any statutes, really it does not have any other organizational framework than our legal order. What unites us is the very demand that the norms of the human rights be fulfilled. To me, as a socialist, as a communist, it means that it is this very objective, too, which corresponds to the requirements of the socialist society.

SPIEGEL: How do you explain that state and Party Chief Husak played down the serious excesses in Domazlice which, after all, tolled 100 injured and two dead, as a "beer hall brawl"?

Hajek: That you must ask the president.

SPIEGEL: Did the riot have anything to do with the charter?

Hajek: No. But it is part of the general fermentation that young people lacking the opportunity to act nonconformist for a change, simply go wild.

SPIEGEL: The very divergent court verdicts against charter followers, too, indicate contradictions in the regime: In Usti nad Labem very severe sentences, relatively mild verdicts recently in Prague in the trial against Havel, Lederer, Pavlicek, and Ornest.

Hajek: The state power in Usti, which as a provincial town does not command general public attention, probably deemed it possible to impose severe punishment. In Prague they deemed it necessary, in contrast, to be a bit more careful.

SPIEGEL: What do you think made the party leadership to postpone the Prague trials, which had been scheduled for as early as the spring, to the beginning of the Belgrade Conference, of all times?

Hajek: This is a riddle to me as well.

SPIEGEL: In the trial against Havel and his friends the prosecutor did not say one word about their charter activities. Why not?

Hajek: To me it is confirmation of our stance that the charter activity is not a subversive activity and does not constitute a punishable act. This is the position which we have been defending from the outset vis-a-vis the organs of power and even vis-a-vis the prosecutor general.

SPIEGEL: How many citizens have signed the charter by now?

Hajek: By now they probably number more than 800. One of our friends told me that about 80 signatures have accumulated at his place.

SPIEGEL: In Hungary, Romania, and Poland civil-rights groups have declared their solidarity with the charter. Does something like an international discussion exist in Eastern Europe in the meantime?

Hajek: Yes, I think there is a grouping in the socialist countries which can visualize the further development of this society only through democratization.

SPIEGEL: What influence does the echo in the Western foreign countries exert on your work? Is it helpful, does it possibly protect people, or does it, on the contrary, endanger people in socialist countries?

Hajek: Especially because the human rights had been recognized part of detente and coexistence it is strengthening and encouraging to us if sympathies are expressed to us in this connection.

SPIEGEL: Eight hundred charter supporters in a people of 15 million which practically is fed up with talking about politics; do you not have cause to resign?

Hajek: No. You see, in the history of this people situations always existed when the initiatives could come only from a small group. Believe me, this has nothing in common with the belief in an elite or in a group of chosen people. The 800 have tried to put moral values up against the values of the consumption society which are in vogue here as well. It is a confrontation, and it is much more difficult than the confrontation with power.

SPIEGEL: Mr Hajek, thank you for this interview.

CSO: 3103

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

JAKES: DISCUSSES FUNCTION OF CONTROL COMMISSIONS

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 23, Nov 77 pp 29-31

[Article by Milos Jakes, chairman of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission: "Current Tasks of Party Control and Auditing Commissions"]

[Text] In the course of implementation of congress resolutions, the party has grown internally stronger, systematically improved the style and methods of work, increased and consolidated its ranks, and gained new experience. A distinct feature of the present contemporary climate is the development of workers' initiative and the fulfillment of pledges made in the honor of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

These positive results cannot, however, lead to self-complacency because a number of problems and shortcomings exist which depreciate the results achieved. We have not succeeded in achieving high efficiency and responsibility for management and solution of problems everywhere. Shortcomings exist in efforts to achieve high efficiency and quality of all work, there are enough manifestations of formalism. The more complex domestic and particularly external economic conditions call for the solution of demanding and difficult tasks, primarily in the economic area.

Further progress requires a substantially increased emphasis on the quality and efficiency of all work of party, state, economic and mass organs and organizations, managing cadres and work collectives at all levels and in all sectors. It is imperative to systematically increase their responsibility for the comprehensive and consistent implementation of the congress line and resolutions of the party central committee, for a vigorous defense of society-wide needs, and to more energetically overcome the shortcomings in work.

The annual members' meeting, the plenary meetings and the party conferences occupy an extraordinarily important place in the mobilization of party and societal forces for the implementation of the program formulated by the 15th CPCZ Congress.

The requirement for quality applies to all party and societal work--including the party control and auditing commissions. The results of their activity depend on the selection of principal and decisive aspects of the party life which are to be subject to control, and on the observance of the Leninist principles and methodological control procedures. We must list definitely on the positive side the fact that the majority of our commissions participated in the coordinated actions this year which focused on the key questions of statutes and intraparty life (the right of control, Leninist style in the implementation of resolutions, work with the candidates and young party members) and systematically strives for making their work more effective.

Further improvement of the work of the control and auditing commissions is affected by many factors, such as careful analysis and the laying down of the fundamental line of control, its scope and so on. A general or too wide a scope is of little value because checks are superficial, do not go into the crux of the problems involved and difficulties arise in the adoption of measures designed to remedy the situation.

The reports of control commissions must list specific findings, give examples, describe them in detail in order to provide a comprehensive picture of the existing situation. It is not possible to be satisfied merely with a general description of the existing situation, but it is necessary to exactly quantify both the positive and negative phenomena, to analyze the causes and to call specific persons to account.

The reports of control commissions frequently state that instances of suppression of criticism do not occur. Yet the complaints received by the CPCZ Central Committee and CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission reveal that such instances do exist. It is therefore correct in the course of various checks to carefully examine the extent of application of the principle of intraparty democracy, collective decision-making, criticism and self-criticism; to thoroughly examine the suggestions of the party members; to observe whether a favorable atmosphere for the development of criticism and self-criticism is really created at the members' meeting and whether the comments are systematically followed up and acted upon.

We still find that checks are somewhat superficial in some instances. In each instance it is imperative to see to it that the resulting reports not only describe what was established, but also list the measures which were approved by the members' meetings and other organs to eliminate the existing shortcomings. This is the fundamental question, one of the basic requirements of the Leninist style of control. It is also the condition of the increased authority of the commission in question. The follow-up reflects the quality and efficiency of control.

Inadequate attention is still paid to holding individuals responsible for failure to implement resolutions, for violation of work and state discipline



and for other shortcomings. We still encounter manifestations of liberalism and lack of principles. Even the commissions themselves frequently fail to propose the instituting of party investigation or disciplinary proceedings. There are, however, also examples of a correct, principled course of action. It is necessary to react promptly and more boldly to various malpractices and irregularities and not to wait until someone else comes up with a pertinent proposal. Respective workers should be called to account for a conciliatory attitude toward the shortcomings.

It has been found useful to plan the activities of control and auditing commissions for the entire year. It is imperative also for 1978 that the commissions have the plans of work for the whole year and do not plan their activities for the period of members' meetings only. The newly elected commissions will define with more precision the plans as needed. Two coordinated control actions are planned for 1978.

To fulfill the strategic requirement of the 15th CPCZ Congress calling for increased efficiency, economy and quality of all work in the implementation of tasks of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, the control and auditing commissions carried out coordinated checks at the beginning of this year in order to find out how the party organs and basic organizations in production plants and enterprises practiced the right of control with the emphasis on the quality and economy of production. These checks revealed a number of shortcomings and contributed to the correct approach to the application of the right of control and to its orientation to the problems of economy and quality of production. The inspected party organizations and the majority of supervisory party organs adopted specific measures for the improvement of the existing situation. They decided for example, to organize seminars for functionaries on the question of the application of the right of control, to put these questions, including the economic problems faced by the plants and enterprises, on the program for party education and so on.

The overall findings reveal that in our activities systematic attention must be paid also in the future to the right of control and particularly to its material orientation, and to the forms and methods of its application from the standpoint of observance of party statutes. We shall therefore carry out the second stage of coordinated checks on the application of the right of control with the emphasis on the quality and economy of production. Its purpose, while making use of experience from the first stage, is to contribute to further increase in the effectiveness of the application of the right of control and to its correct orientation toward the key problems of plants and enterprises from the standpoint of the fulfillment of the state plan for development of the national economy for 1978, and particularly to achieving higher production efficiency and quality of products.

The 15th CPCZ Congress emphasized the necessity of paying necessary attention to the employment of the creative potential of the working class, to

increasing its activity, political consciousness and participation in political and social life. From this standpoint, great importance is attached to care for education and training of the young generation of the working class, which is the decisive base also for the selection of party candidates.

For this reason, the goal of the second coordinated checks--of the approach of communists and party organizations to the implementation of the party policy in the system of training of the young people for blue-collar jobs--is to induce the party and economic organs, organizations and national committees to increase their attention to education and training of the young generation of the working class.

The checks are to contribute to the better knowledge and attention by the party organs for the training of young people for blue-collar jobs and to the more systematic fulfillment of tasks and obligations toward schools for apprentices by the federal and national ministries, enterprises, plants and national committees. The 15th CPCZ Congress put emphasis on the strengthening of the leading role of the party and on further consolidation of its ideological, organizational and action unity, and on increasing discipline and responsibility in building a developed socialist society. This requires a consistent application of statutes and Leninist principles in the internal life of the party. In this sense, the control and auditing commissions will carry out next year, in accordance with the activity of the supervisory organs, additional checks designed to render organizational and management activity more efficient in the implementation of the resolutions passed by the 15th CPCZ Congress.

In the work of the commissions great attention must be paid to the answering of letters from workers. The 15th CPCZ Congress again emphasized that correct and prompt action on comments contributes to the strengthening of workers' confidence in the party and of the unity of the party with the people. A formal and insensitive attitude toward critical comments, the failure to respond to them engenders apathy and in the final effect amounts to the suppression of criticism. Everybody who uncovers shortcomings and strives to eliminate them must be supported. We must not tolerate a situation whereby justified criticism is turned against critics and that, instead of the investigation of the complaint, the complainant is harassed.

Experiences from the checks on the answering of letters and complaints have in some instances revealed the manifestations of formalism, underestimation and inconsistent settlement of workers' complaints. This is borne out by the fact that party organs, including the control and auditing commissions, deal with many complaints simply because the appropriate state, economic and other organs do not act on the complaints at all or handle them irresponsibly. Good experience has been gained by the South Bohemia Kraj Control and Auditing Commission and other commissions which check to see

how communists in the national committees, trade union organizations and organs handle workers' comments and how they recommend to party organs measures designed to improve this work. By such an approach we can strengthen the responsibility for action on the comments.

Despite the improvements in answering the letters from workers, shortcomings continue to exist in party work and the guidelines of the party central committee are occasionally not followed. This is particularly true of the unjustified delays in answering letters, of the shortcomings in the registration of letters from workers, in acknowledgment to the writer of the receipt of the letter, in the quality of documentary material pertaining to the investigation, in the consistent implementation of specific measures designed to remedy the existing situation and also in the documentation. Appropriate attention is not always paid to answering complaints and comments with which the workers and party members personally turn to the party organs. Many of these oral communications frequently are not recorded or registered and the way in which they are settled is not systematically followed up. For all these reasons, the improvement of this work must be pressed much more categorically.

The control and auditing commissions will continue to pay attention to the implementation of resolutions pertaining to the economical spending of party funds and to enforcing discipline in the payment of membership fees.

Drawing on the positive experience and results of the past, we shall continue to check the financial management of kraj party organizations. The checks, which we carry out are appreciated by the organs and leading officers of the kraj and okres committees. The party organs approve effective corrective measures. On subsequent checks we found that all measures had been carried out and exercised a favorable effect on the development of party financial management and on the payment of membership fees.

In a similar way, the kraj control and auditing commissions should carry out audits of the financial management of okres party organizations, and the okres commissions, the auditing of enterprise, factory, municipal and local party committees.

The control and auditing commissions at all levels of the party organization must continue to pay attention to the observance of principles governing the payment of membership fees, although favorable results have been achieved in the party budget revenues in recent years and the payment of membership fees has showed a permanently rising tendency since 1970. This positive development has been undoubtedly affected, in addition to the increase in incomes, by accepting candidates, changes in the structure of the membership base and improving discipline in payment of membership fees, to which increased attention by supervisory party organs and by control and auditing commissions had definitely contributed.

The control and auditing commissions should pay attention also in the future to the party administration and to the registration of members because their high standard is one of the prerequisites for improving supervisory work.

The control and auditing commissions face the very urgent and demanding job of helping the fulfillment of tasks which ensue from the preparation of annual members' meetings and party conferences and from the resolutions passed by them. The reports on their activities should contain an evaluation of the commissions' contribution to the implementation of the line of the 15th CPCZ Congress, of the tasks which ensue for them from the party statutes, findings of checks and audits, and naturally also the basic line of the commissions' work in the next period.

The reports should be of a high political standard. For this reason, they should not only list and describe the actions which were carried out, but it is necessary also to analyze the results of checks and audits in order to demonstrate the degree of unity of the party organization, its capacity to act and the level of observance of the leading role of the party. They should also evaluate the effect of disciplinary work on the strengthening of ideological and organizational unity of the party, on the party and state discipline. They should express opinion on the financial situation of the party organization, describe morale with regard to the payment of membership fees and the contribution of the commission to its improvement. They should assess the standard of the members' registration and party administration. They should stress the necessary care for party cards and express an opinion on the work of the party organization in handling complaints and comments. The reports should also describe the methods employed in the commissions' work.

The section of the report which deals with the prospects and tasks of commissions in the coming period must be based on the party statutes, guidelines for the commissions' work, resolutions of the 15th CPCZ Congress and the needs of the party organization as they are reflected in the draft of the resolution submitted to the conference by the supervisory organ. It was a good idea that the kraj and okres control and auditing commissions submitted to the delegates the brief written summaries of the commission activities since the last conference.

In nominating the members of commissions for the conferences, the emphasis must be on the stabilization of cadres. In necessary instances, the commissions must be supplemented by experienced communists who have proved very efficient in the struggle for the implementation of resolutions approved by the 15th CPCZ Congress, and enjoy authority in the party collectives and among the workers. Also, in the future the principle must be observed of increasing the number of blue-collar workers and women in the commissions.

In accordance with past experience, the okres and kraj control and auditing commissions will consist of 23 elected members, factory-wide and local commissions predominantly of 9 elected members, and in those instances where these commissions operate on the factory-wide committee and CPCZ local committee levels with the rights of okres committees, of 11 elected members. In order to improve the standard and work of factory-wide and local commissions it is imperative to pay increased attention to the selection of members of these commissions.

The okres control and auditing commissions in particular must render assistance to the preparation of factory-wide and local commissions for the plenary meetings and conferences and thus contribute to insuring their high standard and to the successful fulfillment of their tasks in the next period.

Aware of their mission, the control and auditing party commissions will, in accordance with the needs of supervisory party organs, continue to promote higher efficiency and responsibility for the implementation of the party policy formulated by the 15th CPCZ Congress in accordance with the systematic observance of the party statutes.

10501

CSO: 2400

EAST GERMANY

WEST GERMAN COMMENTARY ON GDR POLITICAL CLIMATE

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 10 No 12, Dec 77 signed to press 26 Nov 77 pp 1233-1236

[Article by Peter Jochen Winters: "More Than a Coffee Crisis--The Internal Political Situation in the GDR"]

[Text] Following the turbulences of the year 1976, in the year now coming to an end the SED turned its primary attention toward attempting to calm down and stabilize the internal political situation. Security operations--assuring the safety of the party through forceful means and at all costs, by means of the never-changing brutal methods of totalitarian control--was the first essential for the year 1977. That meant keeping the GDR peaceful and stable as the "westernmost outpost of the socialist camp" and nipping in the bud all incipient movements toward changes of a potentially oppositionist nature, or even merely of a sort difficult to control in regard to their dynamics. The security experts in the SED Politburo once again gained in influence this year, and the political and intellectual-cultural climate in the GDR became more chilly. "Clarity on the issue of authority was, is, and remains a basic requirement of Marxist ideology and policy," writes Erich Mielke, member of the Politburo and minister for state security, on the occasion of the 100th birthday of Feliks Dzierzynski, and he adds menacingly: "Never will we tolerate subversive and seditious activity against socialism....Enemies are to be fought against as enemies." To be sure, Mielke concedes that this or that interpretation can be given to this or that issue in the revolutionary struggle, but: "Nevertheless, it must never come to the point of a person allying himself with the class enemy."<sup>1</sup> These sentences could stand as the motto for the policy of the SED in the year 1977. After all, "the chief issue of the revolution is and will remain the issue of power," it says in the report of the Politburo to the seventh session of the SED Central Committee,<sup>2</sup> which by the way let 5 months intervene between the previous and that meeting in the year 1977.

The "petition for the full acquisition of human rights" which was initiated by the Riesa physician, Dr Karl-Heinz Nitschke, and which

was eventually signed by a total of 79 GDR citizens who wanted to leave the country, as well as the letter initially signed by 12 GDR writers with which they publicly protested against the "expatriation" of Wolf Biermann and to which other writers and artists in the GDR subscribed, triggered at the end of last year stage of alert one for the SED. For the first time, groups had now met and publicly made demands. To the security experts, the Riesa residents and the Biermann sympathizers must have seemed to be the germ cells of oppositionist movements. Moreover, ever since the Helsinki Conference and the conference of the European communist and labor parties in East Berlin in June 1976, they found themselves confronted with a phenomenon unknown up until then: On the grounds of the Final Act of Helsinki, citizens were filing applications with the authorities, without regard for the unpleasant consequences threatening them for doing so, for permission to leave the country and for release from GDR citizenship, and in party conferences fellow SED members, in referring to the theses of the Eurocommunists, more and more frequently ventured to voice opposition and protest against the line taken by the SED. Developments in Poland and in Czechoslovakia, where organized civil rights movements had formed, gave the authorities additional jitters.

With the end of the year 1977, the SED can say of itself that it has gotten rid of the dangers--at least on a superficial level--which emanated from the Riesa petition and the artists' protest. It can maintain without contradiction that there is no organized civil rights movement in the GDR--not even one which is as modest in scope as the "Charter 77" in Czechoslovakia--and also no openly perceptible socialist or Eurocommunist opposition there. Professor Robert Havemann--a possible spokesman for such an opposition--is under house arrest and has been effectively reduced to silence. Rudolf Bahro, who in his book "Die Alternative" has articulated what many functionaries--and not merely of the middle ranks in the party and national apparatus--think is now sitting in prison. The writers and artists who had come together for the Biermann resolution have been driven into isolation. Many have made compromises, have accepted offers made by the party. Others, who did not want to give in or to apologize, were--like the writer Juergen Fuch--compelled to leave the country, or else they themselves filed an application--such as Sarah Kirsch and others--for permission to leave the country. The Riesa petitioners were "done in" by imprisonment or psychological terrorism. Their spokesman, Dr Nitschke, was deported to the West without a court trial but after a prolonged confinement, just as was the East Berlin Germanic scholar, Professor Nitsche, who had in a letter brought President Carter's attention to human rights violations in the GDR. The GDR has also dammed up the flood of applications for permission to leave the country, through intimidation and terrorism. In doing this, it has even ventured to violate the travel and visiting arrangement concluded with the Senate of Berlin within the framework of the Four Powers' Agreement and to transgress against the spirit of its arrangements with the Federal Republic of Germany

by denying entry since the middle of December of last year to those Germans from the FRG and West Berlin who in recent times have legally emigrated from the GDR or who are pursuing a reunion of families with residents of the GDR and East Berlin. Resignation and despair have spread among wide circles of the GDR population. This mood is being reinforced by the economic situation.

Quiescence and stability of rule--that is what ruling communists understand by security--can be most easily ensured in the GDR--lying as it does at the borders to the "golden West," as it is viewed by almost all GDR residents--if the people are materially well off, and if possible if their material condition gets better and better.

So might Honecker have thought, when he took over power from Ulbricht in 1971 and proclaimed at the Eighth Party Congress the goulash communism a la Honecker. Yet the raising of the standard of living of the GDR population requires higher and higher subsidies each year. According to official data, the GDR is already having to spend for this purpose 44.3 billion marks this year, which is 121 million marks daily.<sup>3</sup> For next year an increase of 1.9 billion marks, to 46.2 billion marks, is planned. That means a national subsidy of 685 marks monthly for a family of four.<sup>4</sup>

The socialist "fraternal countries" of the GDR have already drawn conclusions from the price increases in the world markets, on which they are in fact dependent despite their endeavors toward self-sufficiency, and they have raised their consumer prices. However, the GDR does not want to--or cannot--follow this example. Although good economic sense would demand a different policy in view of the indices of the GDR economy, the GDR is adhering--not least for security reasons--to its policy of stable prices for consumer goods, rents, transport charges, and services. That has been once again expressly affirmed in the report of the Politburo to the seventh session of the SED Central Committee.<sup>5</sup> A general increase, or even only a special price increase for certain groups of goods, could trigger uneasiness and reactions which could only be brought under control with difficulty, it is believed in party and government leadership circles--not least because of their experiences with supplying coffee to the GDR population. (The disappearance of the relatively cheap kinds of coffee from the available supplies, the scarcity of reasonably priced coffees, and the propaganda on behalf of a mixed coffee made up of malt coffee and regular coffee had led to such a great discontent among the population that the Ministry for Trade and Supply had to publicly take a stand and promise an improvement of the situation.<sup>6</sup>) Thus the chief economic planner of the GDR, Dr Mittag, proclaimed that: "Our party is firmly resolved to realize its chief objective even under the changed foreign economic conditions."<sup>7</sup> At the same time, however, he made it clear that this could succeed only if everybody achieved higher outputs. It was crucial "to secure a growth in outputs in our economy such as to make



it possible for us to strengthen the material-technical basis of the GDR." It must be taken into consideration, he said, "that we are subject to considerable foreign economic stresses, whose growing dimensions we have to compensate for by means of higher outputs." This would involve mobilizing and employing national economic reserves on new scales of magnitude and directing initiative toward discovering and making accessible other sources for raising efficiency and for improving the relationship between expenditures and income.

In the present situation, the standard of living of the GDR population can be maintained, despite increased outputs by the population, only if--as hitherto--a part of the heightened wants of the population can be met by means of the "intershops" and if the GDR's trade with the West can be expanded. Both of these things bring with them new difficulties. The extensive expanding of the "intershops" has not only led to there being practically two currencies in the GDR, but also to the discontent of all those who do not have any relatives and acquaintances in the West who can send them foreign currency, or who on account of their position dare not maintain any contact with the West. The multiplication of the "intershops" and their development into veritable supermarkets is producing uneasiness in the factories as well, where workers have here and there already begun to demand part of their pay in Western marks. Thus, SED chief Honecker felt himself called upon recently to give a clarifying "frank statement" about the "intershops":<sup>8</sup> "These stores are obviously not permanent companions of socialism....Through the intershop-stores we have made it possible for this foreign exchange (brought into the country by visitors to the West--the author) to remain here in this country with us. It is made use of so that our national economy can develop to an even greater extent, in accordance with the resolutions of the Ninth Party Congress." The disadvantage suffered by those GDR citizens who do not possess any Western foreign currencies is to be compensated for, according to Honecker's announcement, by extending the network of the "quality" and "delicacy" stores. In those places, those goods which are also sold in the "intershop" can then be acquired for GDR marks--to be sure for a price which is about four times higher. However, with that the "intershop" problem is not eliminated. The issue remains.

In addition, however, many GDR citizens are afraid that Honecker's formula will lead to the situation where reasonably priced goods will disappear from the normal stores, to again emerge in a somewhat changed form and at greatly increased prices in the "quality" and "delicacy" shops. The Politburo therefore felt itself called upon to make assurances in its report to the seventh session of the SED Central Committee "that current provisioning in all price categories corresponding to the plan is not to be permitted to be injuriously affected, and the execution of the measures for the development of the quality and delicacy trade is taking place step by step in accordance with the existing economic opportunities."<sup>9</sup>

An expansion of the GDR's trade with the West must of necessity be done at the expense of the further integration of the GDR in the Eastern economic system of the "Council for Economic Mutual Assistance (CEMA)." Such a thing, however, runs up against the opposition of the Soviet Union, which is anxious to see precisely more and more extensive involvement on the part of the GDR in the CEMA, and which is already regarding with suspicion the fact that the GDR at present cannot fulfill its obligations, not only in terms of exports to the CEMA sector but also in connection with its participation in important integration plans.<sup>10</sup> To make it clear to the Soviet leadership why the GDR is dependent on an expansion of trade with the West, and along with that to dispel at the same time the suspicion of Moscow that the GDR might be arriving at further "special" relationships with the FRG, was certainly one of the chief objectives which GDR delegations which went to the Soviet Union this year had to accomplish. In order to avoid unnecessarily irritating the Soviets, the GDR marked time in the field of policy on the German question and German-German negotiations this year, and it thus let occur a worsening of the climate. At the same time, internally it has stressed at every opportunity and over and over again its fraternal and "everlasting" alliance with the Soviet Union. A response to so much base flattery for this "big brother"--which among the GDR population achieved rather the opposite of that which was aimed for--was the disturbances in the Alexanderplatz in the evening of 7 October, the national holiday of the GDR, at which was also given vent the displeasure felt about the ordained German-Soviet friendship.<sup>11</sup>

Rudolf Bahro, whose "Critique of the Actually Existing Socialism"<sup>12</sup> has not been silenced with his imprisonment, the uncertainty about future economic development, the "intershop" problem, and a worsening--so far only perceptible as a feeling--of the relationship with the Soviet Union are catchwords which characterize the situation in the GDR at the end of the year 1977, which was a year of outward success for the security experts of the SED. To be sure, the SED has the situation firmly under control for the present, but under the surface anxiety can be sensed.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Erich Mielke: "Champion of the Revolution--On the 100th Birthday of the First Chairman of the Cheka," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 10/11 September 1977.
2. From the report of the Politburo to the seventh session of the Central Committee of the SED. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 25 November 1977.
3. BERLINER ZEITUNG, 9 November 1977.

4. In reference to the national economic plan for 1978. From the report by Gerhard Schuerer, candidate for the Politburo of the Central Committee, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR, and chairman of the State Planning Commission. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 26/27 November 1977.
5. See footnote 2.
6. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 23 September 1977. See also the following commentary by H. D. Schulz in this issue, p 1236 ff.
7. Guenter Mittag: "Keeping Successfully On the Course Set By the Ninth Party Congress," NEUER WEG, No 15/77, p 673 ff., reprinted in DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV, No 9/1977, p 992 ff.
8. Erich Honecker: "The Socialist Revolution in the GDR and Its Prospects." From the speech given at the major propaganda event for the inauguration of the party indoctrinational year of 1977/78 in Dresden. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 27 September 1977. Extracts in DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV, No 11/1977.
9. See footnote 2.
10. See footnote 2.
11. See also the commentary of Gisela Schuetze in this issue, p 1243 ff.
12. Rudolf Bahro: "Die Alternative--Zur Kritik des real existierenden Sozialismus," Europaeische Verlagsanstalt, Cologne, Frankfurt am Main, 1977, 543 pages, cloth-bound, DM 34.

12114

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

REASONS FOR CRIMINALITY IN DEVELOPED SOCIALIST SOCIETY ANALYZED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 223, 22 Nov 77 p 2

[Report from Berlin: "More Realistic Assessment of Causes of Criminality in GDR." A translation of the Potsdam-Babelsberg STAAT UND RECHT article referred to below follows this commentary]

[Text] A modification of the views held about the causes of criminality in the socialist society has been called for by two prominent criminal law experts at the East Berlin Humboldt University, Walter Hennig and John Lekschas, in the periodical STAAT UND RECHT. The trend of criminality in the GDR is seen by them to require "determining its relationship to the socialist society in a more differentiated manner." In doing this, one is to initially assume that the socialist society may "not yet be free of criminality." In the opinion of the authors, criminality in the GDR results not only from "influences from imperialism," as was formerly maintained, but also from "relics of an egoistic-individualistic, impulsive-anarchistic nature" in the living conditions, the habits, and the personalities of people, which are said to be still present even in the socialist society. It is said that from these defects arise not only criminality, as one of their most extreme effects, but also "many a difficulty in connection with the upbringing of the young generation." The appearance of criminality is thus seen by them to be an indication of the existence of defects connected with the further construction of the socialist society. The delineation of criminality can therefore be correctly explored only if one investigates the personality structure of criminal offenders in conjunction with such social defects. They say that in the future this task must be a standard element of research into the causes of criminality.

As emerges further from this journal article, the authors were induced to call for a more realistic line of argument with respect to the causes of criminality primarily because of the growth of juvenile criminality in the GDR. For obviously these offenders, who have never lived under capitalistic conditions, have become criminals "under the conditions of the developed socialist society." With that, however, they see

as meriting particular criminological attention the question of in what way and under what conditions have these "relics" reactivated and reproduced themselves in the social life of the GDR and in what way have they gotten transmitted to the rising generation.

#### East Berlin Criminal Law Experts' Discussion

Potsdam-Babelsberg STAAT UND RECHT in German Vol 26 No 11, Nov 77  
signed to press 26 Sep 77 pp 1147-1156]

[Article by Dr Walter Hennig, professor of law, Humboldt University, East Berlin, and Prof Dr John Lekschas, the university's dean of the social science faculty and corresponding member of the GDR Academy of Sciences: "The Historically Conditioned Nature of Criminality and Principles of Criminological Research in the GDR"]

[Text] Inasmuch as the SED, at the Ninth Party Congress, outlined through its platform the most immediate aspects of the further construction of the developed social society and made fundamental statements about the path to communism, it is necessary for penology and criminology in the GDR to think over its hitherto prevailing conceptions about the historical conditionality of criminality and its causes, and to assist in making more precise the basic alignment of the battle against criminality in the process of erecting the developed socialist society. As long ago as at the outcome of the Eighth Party Congress of the SED, the question emerged anew from an examination of the state of social development at that time of how to determine the social nature of criminality and wherein its causes must be looked for. On this subject, Hartmann and Lekschas have thrown upen to discussion, in a joint study made by them, a series of theses which are to be pursued further in this article with respect to criminality in general.<sup>1</sup>

#### On the Historical Conditionality of Criminality

One of the fundamental perceptions of Marxism-Leninism is to comprehend criminality as a social phenomenon which has historical origins and which has a correspondingly temporal nature. Criminality makes its appearance with the emerging of the class society, of the exploiting of man by man and the production of goods based on the private ownership of means of production, as a result of which the original community which was founded on a harmony of interests had collapsed. There developed antagonism among the classes, and on this basis grew antagonism between the individual and society as well as conflicts between individuals themselves. In the production of goods, the person himself could no longer achieve self-realization. His goods-producing activity realized itself on the contrary only by way of the impulsive exchanging of equivalents in the market-place, whereby these goods confronted him as alien forces dominating him.<sup>2</sup> Social impulsiveness

and blindness became inevitable characteristic features of the thinking and conduct of the people. Private ownership exalted individualism and egoism--the satisfaction of wants in relation to the individual person without regard for the community--more and more to the level of the highest principle of life. Moreover, the private ownership of means of production and the exploitation of man by man which is based on this necessarily brought with it the employment of coercion and force in the dealings of people with one another. Individualism, egoism, social impulsiveness, and violence forced the person into behavior patterns which contradict his proper human nature. Criminality as an extreme form of these relationships, as an egoistic-individualistic, impulsive-anarchic, anti-social or rather society-threatening way of satisfying wants which is destructive of human nature itself, appeared on the scene and became a typical mode of behavior of the exploitative order. The higher form of "humanity" was bought off in consequence of a concurrent production of "inhumanity."<sup>3</sup>

Criminality is a phenomenon which is characteristic of the nature of the exploitative society. Seen historically, it can be understood only as a form of expression of the mode of life prevailing in an exploitative structure, from which the person can only free himself if he frees himself from the exploitative society itself, if he takes up the fight for a new society--for the socialist and communist society. Thus, the causes of criminality are to be found, viewed from this standpoint of the history of mankind, solely in terms of the exploitation of man by man and goods-production based on private ownership of the means of production, as well as in the relationships determined by this, which are dominated by egoism, individualism, impulsiveness, coercion, and force, in the living habits and in the human personality shaped by them.

It is therefore a mistake to reduce the causes of criminality solely to outward conditions (such as the surroundings) or solely to the individual (such as a predisposition). It is also to little avail to investigate the causal components in these two spheres in a way which makes them more or less mechanistically detached from one another or superficially connected with one another.<sup>4</sup> According to the Marxian theses of human nature as the "ensemble of social relationships"<sup>5</sup> and "revolutionary praxis"<sup>6</sup> the causes of criminality can be found only in the unity of the living conditions and habits engendered by exploitation and of the human personality formed by them. Therefore Marxism-Leninism does not trace criminality back to the circumstances of exploitation alone, which would only have to be done away with in order to make it possible to also "abolish" criminality. It also traces it back to the totality of the social relationships and living habits determined by these exploitation circumstances and to the person so formed by them. The overcoming of criminality as a social phenomenon of an impulsive-anarchic nature which violates elementary

axioms of human association is consequently a problem of the revolutionary communist altering both of social relationships and of people's habits and character.

#### On the Nature of Criminality in the Socialist Society

In the communist society, in which--along with the class society, the private ownership of means of production and the production of goods--at the same time the social foundations for individualism, egoism, and impulsiveness are also done away with, "in which the community of interests is elevated to the basic principle," it will be the case that "disputes..." will "be only rare exceptions,"<sup>7</sup> for the solving and overcoming of which the new society will generate the methods of procedure proper to it.<sup>8</sup> With the complete evolution of communist social relationships, a communist way of life, and communist personalities, criminality will be overcome. Communism and criminality are not only incompatible with one another, they on the contrary exclude one another.

Socialism, as a "special stage in the transition from capitalism to communism,"<sup>9</sup> breaks radically with the exploiting of man by man and with his subjection to the power relationships corresponding to it. With the removal of private ownership of the means of production, of the exploiting of man by man, of the capitalistic production of goods which is executed by way of the impulsively-behaving market-place, and of the bourgeois-capitalistic power relationships, the most primary socio-economic and political foundations for individualism, egoism, impulsiveness, and the employment of coercion and force in the dealings of people with one another, and thus also the chief bases for criminality, have been done away with. The socialist overturning of the production and power relationships, the changing of the character of work, the unfolding of socialist democracy, and the cultural and educational policy as well as the economic and social policy of our worker-and-peasant power, leads to a revolutionary overturning of social relationships, of people's living habits and character, which is such that comradely cooperation and mutual aid establish themselves among the working people as the determinative, as the essential relationship. Under the conditions of socialist production and power relationships, the prerequisites are in principle given for the unimpeded growth of individuals, for the all-round development of the personality in the material and intellectual spheres of life.

With this process of revolutionary upheaval, "the axe was laid to the root of crime," which has had as a result the well-known decisive changes in the quantity, quality, structure, and the manifestations of criminality in the GDR, such as a decline in the number of criminal charges brought by around 27 percent in the years 1946/1948, a fading away of gangsterism and the underworld, a decline in serious and violent crimes down to a minimum, and so forth.<sup>10</sup> This trend in criminality,

which took a similar course in all European socialist states which entered upon the path of socialism after World War II, is a natural consequence of the socialist revolutionary upheaval process. These radical changes in criminality took place during the same period of time in which--with the elimination of private ownership of the means of production and of the exploiting of man by man, which in the GDR was completed by around 1960 through the triumph of socialist production conditions--were also removed the most basic socio-economic grounds for individualism, egoism, impulsiveness, and the employment of coercion and force in the dealings of people with one another, and therewith also the basic grounds for the existence of criminality. In the process of the gradual build-up of the socialist society which has taken place since that time, through which people's social relationships, living habits, and character have been purposefully altered step by step, the decreasing trend of criminality has of necessity decelerated.

The structure of and changes in criminality which are to be ascertained in this revolutionary upheaval process require that their relationship to the socialist society be determined in a more differentiated fashion. In doing this it is to be initially assumed that the socialist society, notwithstanding the already accomplished radical social changes and the great successes achieved in the fight against criminality, may not yet be free of criminality. However much its new characteristic features are what is decisive for life in this society, nevertheless it is still afflicted "with the birthmarks of the old society, from whose womb it has come."<sup>11</sup> "In its first phase," says Lenin, "at its first stage, communism may not yet be economically fully mature, completely free of the traditions, of the vestiges of capitalism."<sup>12</sup> Criminality is an expression of such traditions and vestiges.

The social nature of criminality in the socialist society can be disclosed only if one relates its characteristic features to those of our new socialistic society in terms of the unity of production and power relationships, and not merely to separate aspects of social life or to the empirical situation of life in it. In doing that, it is to be initially assumed that criminality in this case--totally in contrast to the situation for capitalism--is by all means no longer any "protest," any "rebellion" against prevailing conditions which do not give the human individual any room for his development, for the self-substantiation of his nature, because socialism, with its new production and power relationships, with its evolving socialistic way of life, has already burst asunder these fetters which restrain the unfolding of the human personality. But in the socialist society as well, criminality has the character of an egoistic-individualistic, impulsive-anarchic transgression against fundamental axioms of human association. It is therefore incompatible with and foreign to the nature of the comradely cooperation and mutual helping of one another which prevails as a determinative characteristic in the socialist society.<sup>13</sup>



Now and then the objection is made to us by revisionist theoreticians from capitalist countries who pass themselves off as Marxists that criminality is proper to socialism as being the birthmarks of the old society, and that it is immanent in its nature in so far as the socialist phase of communism is a defective communism, is immature communism. Criminality is thus supposedly an extreme effect of the contradictions inherent in socialism. This conception takes no notice of the nature of the matter at hand and leads to conclusions which are untenable for theory and practice in the fight against criminality. Without a doubt, socialist production relationships, with their value-goods-money correlations and their principle of distribution, are not yet communistic, and social inequality, distinctions between classes and social strata, a division between manual and mental work, and also distinctions between city and country still exist.<sup>14</sup> In the living habits and character of people there is still egoism, individualism, lack of consideration, exaggerated material wants, and so forth. However, the social nature of criminality cannot be determined through bringing superficial relations to bear upon all possible social phenomena, whether characteristic of socialism or just appearing in it. It is on the contrary a matter of posing the question of whether--under the conditions of worker-and-peasant power, of the deliberate construction of society under the leadership of the SED--egoism and individualism as characteristic features of criminality are also characteristic signs of certain social phenomena.

Therefore, the general assertion about immaturity or defective communism in the socialist phase of development is not sufficient as a definition of the nature of criminality. In the socialist society, egoism, individualism, and impulsiveness are also not essential features of the division into manual and mental work, of the distinction made between city and country, and of the class distinctions. Under the conditions of socialist property and power relationships, of the historically conscious, complex fashioning of the society, egoism, individualism, and impulsiveness are not characteristic of socialist production conditions, but are of a relic-like, vestigial nature,<sup>15</sup> are present in these conditions as relics existing in a latent state.<sup>16</sup> The existence of these relics and the historically progressive function of socialist production relationships, with their value-goods-money correlations and their distribution principle, necessitate the deliberate construction of the society under the guidance of the Marxist-Leninist party. In the social relationships, the living habits, and character of people, egoism and individualism existing as inherited "ingrained behavior patterns" in the form of personally oriented satisfying of wants, striving after wealth, inconsiderateness, antiquated parental child-raising methods, and so forth, are likewise not of an essential but of a relic-like nature. The social contradictions manifested in criminality are determined in their social essence by

egoism, individualism, and impulsiveness.<sup>17</sup> They are not characteristic of socialism, but are foreign to its nature. The contradictions which are characteristic of the nature of socialism lead to a historical upward development and not to criminality.

Criminality is also not, in the socialist phase of development of communism, an expression of the social relationships and living habits prevailing in it and of the character of people which is stamped by these relationships and habits, but rather it stands in direct contradiction to these. It can only be regarded--notwithstanding all the frictions which still occur even now in life in our socialist society--as a phenomenon which is foreign to the nature of socialism, against which a determined battle is waged.<sup>18</sup> It is to be understood historically only as a relic of the old society. Criminality is an expression of those relics of the exploitative society still existing in people's living conditions, living habits, and character, in the form of egoism, individualism, and impulsiveness. The characterizing of criminality as proper to the nature of socialism hinders the deployment of social forces against criminality and merely works in the direction of identifying "abuses" and not in the direction of overcoming them. On the other hand, the determination of the social nature of criminality through relating it to our new socialist society in the unity of production and power relationships works toward the utilization of the opportunities of deliberate constructing of the society for the sake of the gradual overcoming of criminality.

#### On the Causes of Criminality in the Developed Socialist Society

The investigations on the historical conditionality and on the social nature of criminality in the socialist society also furnish at the same time significant information which is of special methodological value for the exploration of the causes of criminality in the developed socialist society. It follows from this that:

The causes of criminality are, historically considered, to be found only in the exploiting of man by man and of production of goods based on the private ownership of the means of production, as well as in the social relationships conditioned by these and dominated by egoism, individualism, impulsiveness, coercion, and force, and the living habits and human personality formed by them.

As for the causes of criminality in socialism, it is a matter of influences from imperialism and of relics inherited from the exploitative society, of an egoistic-individualistic, impulsive-anarchic nature, in the living conditions, habits, and character of people, which are certainly no longer characteristic of socialism. Rather, they stand in relation to it--as being the first and lowest phase of the communist formation of society--in direct, irreconcilable contradiction. These relics, from which arise not only criminality as one of their most extreme effects, but also many a difficulty in connection with the upbringing of the young generation in the socialist society, nevertheless do not grow--as Margot Honecker confirmed at the Ninth Party Congress

of the SED--"naturally out of the development of our society, and they are likewise not what is typical of it."<sup>19</sup> The above-mentioned relics are imbedded in our socialist society, but are not determined by its fundamental structure.<sup>20</sup> They are eliminated step by step with the further construction of the developed socialist society and the building up of the communist society.

The conception which is to be met with at times--that it is simply immature or defective communism, in the socialist phase of development, which is as yet a general social basis for the existence of criminality in the socialist society--is criminologically not only valueless, but even wrong. Not all relics of the exploitative society, but only those of an egoistic-individualistic, impulsive-anarchic nature can be causes of criminality.

The problems of the causes of criminality must not be considered simply according to separate social relations in isolation from one another. They are rather to be contemplated in their total social complexity under the conditions of socialist property and power relationships as well as under the conditions of the historically deliberate shaping of society under the direction of the Marxist-Leninist party.

The problem of the causes of criminality can only be solved if one investigates it in the unity of human living conditions, living habits, and character, and only if he directs criminological questioning towards the historical-materialist basic categories of the developed socialist society--from which also the socio-economic categories must not be excluded.

The task of further criminological research consists in investigating which relics of the exploitative society of an egoistic-individualistic, spontaneous-anarchic nature in the living conditions, habits, and character of people determine criminality and under what conditions, and in working out principles for the full utilization of the advantages of the socialist society for the purposeful overcoming of criminality.

With the further construction of the developed socialist society, step by step the social ground is being cut out from under the relics of the old society which find expression in criminality. However, they do not disappear automatically, but inasmuch as they are social phenomena which have an autonomous aspect they can thereby only be overcome by purposive action. They are also not rigid, but change in a manner depending on the social development. Moreover, an additional problem is now coming into the forefront with more and more urgency. As our social society draws further away from the old society in time, people are growing up who themselves have never been directly exposed to the effects of the living conditions and habits prevailing in the capitalist society. Relics of the old society in the living conditions,

living habits, and character of criminal offenders are transmitted under the conditions of the developed socialist society. With that, however, the question of in what way and under what social conditions do these relics reactivate and reproduce themselves in our social life and get transmitted to the rising generation merits particular criminological attention.

Consequently, criminological research has three inseparably connected nexuses of problems to investigate: 1. the specific, varying manifestations of relics of the old society of an egoistic-individualistic, impulsive-anarchic nature in the living conditions, living habits, and personality of offenders, and the conflict situations which are associated with these; 2. their connection with the altering social conditions of their existence and the conditions under which they take effect, and 3. the underlying social conditions behind as well as the manner of reactivation and reproduction of these relics, and also their transmission to the rising generation.

The relics of an egoistic-individualistic, impulsive-anarchic nature which are inherited from the exploitative society are reactivated, reproduce themselves, and determine criminality in particular when with the further construction of the developed socialist society, defects appear and when the attempt to form and impress all elements of the developed socialist society proportionately and harmoniously is not sufficiently successful. Thus, criminal phenomena can arise from the situation where ideological work and cultural living conditions lag behind increased production levels and material standards of living, from the contradiction between the further growth of the people's material and cultural wants and the still existing limits to their satisfaction, from the situation where for a portion of the people their fitness and social responsibility falls short of the growing social requirements, from excessive and insufficient demands, and so forth. The appearance of criminality is an indication of the presence of defects or maladjustments in connection with the further construction of our developed socialist society.<sup>21</sup> The delineation of criminality can therefore only be correctly explored if one investigates the concrete manifestations of the above-named relics in the living conditions, habits, and personality of the criminal offenders in conjunction with such defects and maladjustments. This task must be a standard element of research into the causes of criminality.<sup>22</sup>

This aspect of the nexus of problems is also significant with regard to the relics of an egoistic-individualistic, spontaneous-anarchic nature still latently contained in socialist production relationships, with their value-goods-money correlations and their distribution principle. These socialist production relationships are an expression of the social level of development which has been reached, as well as a basis for the further construction of the developed socialist society

and for the creation of the fundamental prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism. They gradually develop into communist production relationships and therewith eliminate every social basis for criminality. Their existence and function are therefore determined simply and solely by the natural laws and requirements of the socialist revolution. Criminological researches cannot exert the slightest effect on that. The directing of criminological research toward the identification of relics which are still present in socialist production conditions would therefore be not only useless with respect to the prevention of and fight against criminality, but would even be politically disorienting and wrong. The task of criminological research is rather to expose and help to overcome just those avoidable defects and maladjustments arising with the further construction of the developed socialist society which are conducive to a situation in which the relics still contained in socialist production conditions, with their value-goods-money correlations and their principle of distribution, can reactivate and reproduce themselves and in doing so result in criminality.<sup>23</sup>

In inquiring into the causes of criminality, it is essential to figure out the social and personal conflicts which are being expressed in the criminal offenses. In this connection, a central importance is ascribable to conflicts which are operative in the mode of living of the criminal offenders, because in it the social and personal conflicts are bound together. Criminological research will therefore have to proceed from the analysis of the mode of living of offenders and from here advance further into the social and personal field of the causes of criminality. These investigations, however, must not come to a stop at the micro-level. On the contrary, it is necessary to investigate the conflicts existing in the living conditions, habits, and character of offenders in their integration into the social structure, along with their demographic, socio-economic, and ideological-cultural factors. However, this more deeply rooted research into conflicts cannot be managed by criminology alone. It must be pursued by various different sciences, such as economics, sociology, psychology, cultural science, pedagogics, and even medicine, both within their own disciplines and at the interdisciplinary level.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See R. Hartmann; J. Lekschas, "Causes of Criminality and Problems of Criminality Research in the GDR," Proceedings of the GDR Academy of Sciences--Publication Department of the Scientific Councils, 1975, No W 3, Berlin, 1976.
2. On this, see for more particulars K. Marx; F. Engels, "Werke," Vol 23, Berlin, 1962, p 85 ff; and also Supplement, First Part, Berlin, 1968, p 510 ff.

3. See K. Marx; F. Engels, "Werke," Vol 3, Berlin, 1958, p 417.
4. See also W. Hennig, "On Some Basic Questions of Juvenile Criminological Research in the GDR," STAAT UND RECHT, 1974, p 293.
5. K. Marx; F. Engels, "Werke," Vol 3, loc. cit., p 6.
6. loc. cit., p 5 f.
7. K. Marx; F. Engels, "Werke," Vol 2, Berlin, 1957, p 542.
8. See in addition the conceptions of Engels, loc. cit., and the comments of W. I. Lenin in his study "State and Revolution," in: "Werke," Vol 25, Berlin, 1960, p 489.
9. W. I. Lenin, loc. cit., p 473.
10. See "Criminal Law Manual, General Part," Berlin, 1976, p 43; and H. Harrland, "On Certain Aspects of Criminality and Its Causes," NEUE JUSTIZ, 1977, p 162.
11. K. Marx; F. Engels, "Werke," Vol 19, Berlin, 1962, p 20.
12. W. I. Lenin, "Werke," Vol 25, loc. cit., p 485.
13. See in this connection the "Platform of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany," Berlin, 1976, p 55 f; E. Buchholz; R. Hartmann; J. Lekschas; G. Stiller, "Socialist Criminology, Its Theoretical and Methodological Foundation," Berlin, 1971, p 94 ff; H. Harrland, loc. cit., p 163 ff.
14. See also A. P. Butenko, "The Soviet Union on the Path to Communism," EINHEIT, 1975, p 614 ff.
15. See also A. B. Sacharow, "On the Causes of Criminality in the Socialist Society," SOWJETWISSENSCHAFT (GB), 1977, p 523 f.
16. See W. I. Lenin, "Werke," Vol 25, loc. cit., p 479 f.
17. See also W. Hennig, loc. cit., p 295.
18. See "Platform of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany," loc. cit., p 53 f.
19. M. Honecker, "Raise Our Youth to Be Good Communists," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND of 21 May 1976, p 3.
20. See in this connection E. Buchholz; R. Hartmann; J. Lekschas; G. Stiller, loc. cit., p 94 ff; H. Harrland, loc. cit., p 162.

21. In this connection, see also A. B. Sacharow, loc. cit., p 517 ff.
22. The finding made by Kurt Hager that "the full unfolding and imprinting of /all/ (emphasis ours--the authors) the elements of the developed socialist society (is) at the same time that process in which fundamental conditions are created for the gradual transition to the higher, the communist phase" (K. Hager, "The Ninth Party Congress and the Social Sciences," Berlin, 1976, p 10) ought to be thoroughly digested theoretically-conceptionally for the sake of further criminological research.
23. The remarks of Kurt Hager are of fundamental importance for the nexus of problems discussed here. He found that: "It is all the more necessary not to rely upon 'automatic' effects of the performance principle. Socialist effects arise only in a correct association with effective ideological work" (K. Hager, loc. cit., p 29; see also loc. cit., p 12).

12114

CSO: 2300

## EAST GERMANY

### INCREASE IN PER CAPITA CAR OWNERSHIP NOTED

East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1005 GMT 14 Jan 78 DW

[Excerpt from Dr Karl-Heinz Gerstner's Sunday Economic Review, discussing facts and figures contained in the report of the GDR central statistical administration on the implementation of the 1977 Economic Plan]

[Text] [passage omitted] The statistical report, dear listeners, includes figures on the supply of households with televisions sets, refrigerators, washing machines and cars, whose degree is increasing year by year. Figures for the past year read in part: supply of households with television sets, 85 percent; refrigerators, 95 percent; washing machines, 78 percent and cars, 31 percent. As far as refrigerators are concerned we now have reached an almost complete supply of all households.

What is rather interesting is the degree of supply with private cars. Thus, every third household now is in possession of a car, whereas in Berlin it is every second household. These figures are reflecting the rapid motorization in the GDR. At present there are about 2.2 million private cars, a 92 percent increase compared with 1970 or in other words: in the seventies the number of cars doubled. About 200,000 cars are now being licensed annually to private owners. Automobile production in the GDR this year amounts to 169,000, including 58,350 Wartburgs and 111,250 Trabants. In order to meet the people's requirements even better and to reduce the still long-lasting waiting periods more rapidly some 81,747 automobiles were imported last year; from the Soviet Union, 31,000--Lada, 22,000--Moskvich, 3,357--Volga and 8,754--Saporozhets; from Poland: 4,500--Polski Fiat; from Romania--5,000 Dacia; from the CSSR, 2,800--Skoda; from Yugoslavia--1,000 Zastava; from Italy--1,100 Fiat; from Sweden--1,000 Volvo and from the FRG--300 Volkswagen.

This year, automobile imports will rise to 94,000, which means from 81,000 to 94,000 including the 63,000 cars from the Soviet Union; 1,500 from Poland; 4,250 from Romania; 14,000 from the CSSR--that is the new Skoda type and the new and big, highly streamlined Tara sedan--1,000 from Yugoslavia and 9,700 from the FRG. In view of this strong increase in the number of cars the rapid enlargement of repair capacities at the motor vehicle repair shops is an urgent necessity. Such a rapid increase has been earmarked in the 1978 Economic Plan.

CSO: 2300



## EAST GERMANY

### BRIEFS

YUGOSLAV PARTY DELEGATION--A round-table talk on questions of peaceful co-existence and the worldwide struggle for socialism was held in Berlin from 11-13 January between representatives of the SED and the LCY. At the end of the discussion the participants were received by Paul Markowski, member of the SED Central Committee and head of its international relations department, for a talk. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14-15 Jan 78 p 2 AU]

CIVIL DEFENSE CONFERENCE--A conference on civil defense problems was held Wednesday in Beeskow, centering on tasks of further fulfillment of the Ninth SED Congress decisions. It was attended by Lt Gen Helmut Poppe, deputy defense minister, and officers and functionaries of civil defense from state and economic organizations. Lt Gen Fritz Peter, head of the GDR Civil Defense, provided an assessment of the 20 years of development in GDR civil defense. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Jan 77 p 2 AU]

MURDERED NCO COMMEMORATED--On Wednesday the soldiers, noncommissioned officers, cadets and officers of the GDR border troops commemorated their comrade in arms Egon Schultz on the 35th anniversary of his birth. The teacher and noncommissioned officer had been insidiously murdered on the GDR state border with West Berlin on 5 October 1964. Border soldiers of the "Heinrich Borrenback" unit were arrayed for a solemn roll call near the site of the killing on Egon Schultz Street of the GDR capital. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Jan 78 p 2 AU]

NETO RECEPTION OF GDR AMBASSADOR--Dr Agostinho Neto, president of the MPLA and the People's Republic of Angola, received on Friday in Luanda Horst Schden, GDR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the People's Republic of Angola, who presented his credentials. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7-8 Jan 78 p 2 AU]

BRITISH CP LEADER CONGRATULATED--Berlin--Erich Honecker has sent a telegram to Gordon McLennan on his reelection as General Secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain. It expresses--also on behalf of the SED Central Committee--cordial congratulations. The telegram says in conclusion: "We wish you, for your responsible work at the head of the Communist Party of Great Britain, health, vigor and success." [Text] [East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1832 GMT 17 Jan 78 LD]

CHILEAN COMMITTEE IN GDR--Berlin--Carlos Contreras Labarca, for many years chairman of the 'Antifascist Chile' office in the GDR, was bidden a cordial farewell in the GDR solidarity committee. Secretary General Kurt Krueger paid tribute to the untiring work of the chairman who is leaving for health reasons and who, at the head of the organization of Chilean emigrants and as former Chilean ambassador to the GDR, has made a considerable contribution to understanding and ties of solidarity between the peoples of Chile and the GDR. The new chairman of the 'Antifascist Chile' office is Daniel Vergara, former state secretary of the popular unity government and a close worker of President Salvador Allende. He found asylum in the GDR after being released from the 'Tres Alamos' concentration camp. [Text] [East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1655 GMT 13 Jan 78 LD]

GDR-INDIAN AGREEMENT--New Delhi (ADN correspondent)--An agreement on further cooperation between the GDR and India in the broadcasting sector was signed in New Delhi today. The document was signed by Rudolf Singer, chairman of the state committee for radio at the GDR Council of Ministers, and L. K. Advani, minister for information and broadcasting of India. It provides for very much increased exchange of programs between the broadcasting services of the two countries as well as other measures. Rudolf Singer, in India since last Monday, met Foreign Minister A. B. Vajpayee for a talk today. [Text] [East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1732 GMT 18 Jan 78 LD]

AVAILABILITY OF RELIGIOUS LITERATURE--[passage omitted] [Uessler] The next letter was written by an elderly listener, Mr August Richter from Leipzig. He asks: What is the volume of religious literature that can be obtained in the GDR? To begin with, it must be said that roughly 500 religious books and writings with a total circulation figure of over 5 million copies are being published in the GDR annually. In addition, there are 31 theological, ecclesiastical, ecclesiastic-political newspapers, periodicals and bulletins, which amount to 655 issues per annum with a total circulation figure of roughly 12.5 million copies. They are published by The Principal Evangelical Bible Society, Berlin; The Evangelical Publishing House, Berlin; and the two publishing houses of the CDU, The Union Publishing House and The Koehler and Amelang Publishing House, Leipzig, just to mention only some of them. The scope of religious literature ranges from scientific works for education and advanced education of church functionaries, via literature of devotion, prayer and meditation to a broad variety of belletristic and ecclesiastical art of the past and present time, including also upper-case and braille printing. That much to this question. [as received] [passage omitted] [Excerpt] [East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1214 GMT 15 Jan 78 DW]

## HUNGARY

### 'NOVOYE VREMYA' ON EUROCOMMUNISM REVIEWED

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 12 Jan 78 p 3

[Text] (TASS) The latest issue of the Soviet foreign affairs weekly NOVOYE VREMYA contains B. Andreyev's article that examines some pronouncements of Manuel Azcarate, member of the secretariat and executive committee of the Central Committee of the Spanish Communist Party.

The Western bourgeois press -- Andreyev points out in his article -- continues to devote attention to the topic of Eurocommunism. Naturally, depicting it in the manner in which they would like to see it.

It is a new phenomenon that representatives of the West-European communist parties are regularly invited to the symposia organized on the topic of Eurocommunism and are asked to give presentations. One of the most active participants of these symposia was Manuel Azcarate. Already earlier, hostile remarks toward the socialist countries have been voiced by him. It cannot be ignored, however, that Manuel Azcarate at the forum in Cologne, and at the meeting in Lugano, as well as in his interview published in the 12 Dec 77 issue of the West German journal DER SPIEGEL, has gone significantly farther in his crude attacks against the socialist countries, primarily against the Soviet Union.

The attention of the bourgeois press writers in connection with these expressions was directed to two things:

- Azcarate has separated himself from the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism;
- Azcarate condemned the experiences of the existing socialism, of the Soviet Union.

The question comes up: Did the Spanish Communists authorize Azcarate to make such pronouncements? In view of such, essentially anti-communist assertions, one has to remind [others] that: the experiences of the past as well as the experiences of the present prove that every deviation from the fundamental tenets of Marxism-Leninism -- which have withstood the test of class-struggle and socialist revolution -- merely results in the failure and defeat of the working class, and thrusts it on the path of social-reformism.

After announcing that "Eurocommunism" is the new direction in modern Marxism, Azcarate continues his thoughts as follows: "The characteristic trait of Eurocommunism is that it rejects the Soviet model."

It is fitting here to remind that the Soviet Union has never sought to impose on anyone the so-called "Soviet model." It is up to each communist party to decide itself whether to study and draw on the experience of the fraternal parties, or whether not to do so.

Azcarate is unable to counterpose to the living and practical experience of the USSR and the other socialist countries the living, practical experience of the embodiment of his own ideas. Basing himself on abstract, unverified-by-life scheme, he takes it upon himself to reject categorically the experience, practice of the CPSU.

Any anti-Soviet campaign serves as an incentive to anti-communist forces. One cannot effectively fight for freedom and democracy in one's own country -- and this applies to Spain as well -- while discrediting the already existing socialism.

Some of those who are most active under the banner of "Eurocommunism", in reality bring grist to the mill of imperialism. This is not a matter of labels and epithets. This is a matter of simple observation of such a fact from which we must draw for ourselves the necessary conclusions -- writes, at the end, the NOVOYE VREMYA article.

CSO: 2500

## HUNGARY

### TRUE SYMBOLISM OF CROWN RESTORED

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 7 Jan 78 p 4

[Article by Istvan Nemeskurty]

[Text] In July 1440 at the time of the coronation of the reigning Polish king, Ulaszlo I, who had been chosen king of Hungary by the feudal estates, our constitutional dignitaries put their views about the holy crown in writing: "The coronation of kings always depends on the will of the national population, and its validity and strength lie in their approval."

This important declaration was made at that particular time because the widow of King Albert, who died unexpectedly the preceding year, seized the crown and declared her infant son ruler. The estates did not recognize this illegal act and selected Ulaszlo, grandson of Lajos Nagy, who had been on the throne of Poland for 10 years, as king of Hungary. In doing so, they saw fit to establish this principle which was not at all common in the Middle Ages. It was from this declaration that the doctrine of the holy crown evolved.

According to it, the king of Hungary rules not by the grace of God nor the approval of the emperor or pope, but "through the will of the people of the nation." Thus, power is vested in the people of the nation, and they merely transfer the power temporarily to the person whom they have freely elected and whom they crown as a symbol of this decision. Consequently, not the king but the holy crown is the omnipotent ruler-this was its significance, through which it came to be called holy-nor is it the family jewel of some ruling house, but the symbol of the entire Hungarian nation. The holy crown is the inalienable property of the Hungarian people.

This view, formulated earlier, but first set forth in this way in 1440 is repeated in volume 15 of the PALLAS LEXIKON in 1897 as the law still valid in the year in which the thousandth anniversary of the existence of the country was celebrated: "The holy crown personifies the independence, sovereignty and political life of the nation."

Thus when socialist Hungary now takes possession of the holy crown, it not merely puts some valuable historical relic on display in a museum but exhibits the symbol of Hungarian independence to the nation-to quote the words of the author of the earlier document.

The fact that the USA is returning to its rightful owners, the Hungarian people, this treasure which was slipped to it at the end of World War II is recognition of Hungarian policy of today. That the elected Hungarian government demanded the return of the crown in the name of the Hungarian people and received it proves that the Hungarian government and the MSZMP identify themselves with our history and consider the present a continuation of this history.

Compared to this, the question of precisely when, for whom and of what the holy crown was [made] is important to the specialists but is beside the point insofar as the symbolic significance of the crown is concerned. At one time it was frequently emphasized that the crown with which Saint Stephen, our first king, was adorned was sent by the pope. This is by no means certain although it is probable. Even if it did happen like that, this crown is by no means identical with that which adorned Stephen's brow, because the former is a later [piece of] goldsmith work. The important thing is that a crown was made and that it should be a dear and precious symbol at all times: It was a symbol of the independence and power of Hungary even in the so-called Dark Ages. Let us be proud of the fact that, at a time when kings were reigning in the more advanced Western Europe by the grace of God, regardless of whether or not the populace wanted them, here in "Mid-Eastern Europe", as we accurately but somewhat clumsily call our homeland, the populace elected its ruler freely. The crown was the symbol of this freedom and independence. And how much earlier than the three-colored flag!

Of course, reality and the ideal seldom met in our history. The crown seldom adorned a truly worthy head; and the population as a whole was never in a position of electing a king and thereby symbolically investing the joint power of the people upon a single, able man. Over the centuries the nobility monopolized this right for itself. Not infrequently, irresponsibly, the nobles honored several men with the crown simultaneously; at such times it became the toy of unworthy interests.

These times are past. We now live in a republic, and the crown, once again in our possession, will remain what it originally was: the symbol of Hungarian independence.

CSO: 2500

## HUNGARY

### REGULATIONS FOR MARRIAGES TO FOREIGNERS ELUCIDATED

Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 18 Dec 77 p 29

[Article by Eva Bedecs: "Marriage; If One is a Foreigner; With a Consular Passport; Citizenship Remains"]

[Excerpts] Due to the ever increasing interest they have had to hold reception hours every day at the international legal department of the Ministry of Justice--where they take care of the formalities needed in connection with the "export" or "import" of those desiring to get married.

Brides go, grooms come--and vice versa. Last year, for example, a total of 13,000 marriages with foreigners were recorded.

Mixed marriages were controlled by more severe measures earlier than they are now. Until 1957, for example, one could marry a foreigner only with the permission of the president of the Presidential Council. (Such a provision exists now only in the German Democratic Republic, Romania and Albania.)

Prior to the Second World War women were really presented with a dividing of the ways: homeland or love? A woman marrying a foreigner automatically lost her citizenship and adopted that of her husband. The present regulations are a good bit simpler and more humane. What is most significant, perhaps, is that marriage does not affect citizenship. The foreign party does not acquire it and the Hungarian party does not lose it merely by marriage.

Today for a Hungarian man or woman to get married abroad all that is needed is a certificate proving that there is no obstacle to the planned marriage according to Hungarian law. The certificate can be obtained in the international legal department of the Ministry of Justice, where it is best if the couple to be married appear together and fill out the necessary data record. If the foreign groom or bride is not present the intention to marry must be documented in a statement certified by a notary public which shows the personal data.

Thereafter the Hungarian to be married receives a consular passport good for 5 years, which can be extended, with which he or she can return home at any time for a visit or, if it should thus happen, permanently.

The other possible case is when a foreign citizen wants to get married in Hungary. This is the mirror image of the former situation. The foreign man or woman should bring a certificate from his or her homeland stating that there is no legal obstacle to the marriage. I say "should" because the Hungarian minister of justice can give an exemption in regard to the certificate (with the exception of GDR, Romanian and Albanian citizens).

The exemption must be requested in person, together with a passport and a filled out data record--already mentioned--with documents testifying to the data thereon. (Let me give just one example of how careful you have to be. In Poland a girl attains her majority at 18 years and a boy at 21. Adult status is attained at a different age in almost every state in the Soviet Union.)

If the foreigner comes from a country with which the Hungarian state has signed a legal aid agreement extending to family law questions then the stamped exemption can be prepared in just 10 minutes. In the contrary case the matter may take about 2 weeks but an immediate certification is given that the request is "under consideration." This certification can be given to the marriage license official and so the 2 weeks comes out of the obligatory 30 day waiting period.

The export-import balance for marriages is positive; about two thirds of those marrying foreigners choose Hungary as their place of residence and only a minority settle outside the borders.

The names of some countries appear again and again: Czechoslovakia, Romania and the Soviet Union, primarily the Carpatho-Ukraine. The fateful acquaintance is often made in the course of a family visit to bordering states--to which ties of kinship often bind the boys and girls of our homeland.

For several years--since Hungarian youths have been working in the GDR--many Gertruds, Gretas and Hildes have become Pecs, Szeged or Pest wives. They say that they study Hungarian cookbooks with the aid of a dictionary so that they can ease the homesickness of the Peters, Andrases and Joskas temporarily far from home with proper knuckle bean soup and stuffed cabbages.

A surprising number of Italians choose Hungarian wives. Although they are not asked for their reasons they often tell them on their own: This was not how they had imagined it at first when they roared into Hungary in a sport Fiat or Alfa Romeo with a few flashy gifts hunting for enterprising Budapest girls. It just happened that the spree ended with a proposal.

Girls are more careful these days. Endre Fejes' novel "Good Evening Summer, Good Evening Love" has had an effect on them. The "I be a Greek diplomat"



has become a common saying and it has happened that the following request was telephoned to the Italian embassy: "Could you tell me please if a wealthy gynaecologist named X. Y. lives in Bari, he wants to marry me. It is not that I do not trust him but it does no harm to be careful."

The nostalgia of older people who have emigrated overseas is well known also. They often come from Canada or the United States to spend the last years of their lives in their old homeland with a Hungarian wife at their side.

The majority choose a foreign partner not out of a desire for adventure or for material reasons but out of pure love.

Many of the foreign scholarship students also find Hungarian companions and with the end of their study time it is found that the radical change in way of life which awaits those moving as foreigners to a developing country causes serious and frequently insoluble problems.

The legal systems of the various states differ too. In Egypt if the husband repeats three times before an authority "I want to be divorced from this woman" the marriage is regarded as dissolved. If the wife is legally Hungarian and then returns to her homeland she cannot marry again because according to domestic laws the marriage of a Hungarian citizen can be dissolved only by a Hungarian court. Property questions only further tangle the situation.

If there are children from the broken marriage then it can be a question of he who gets bites. To use the legal terminology what is crucial is "being in possession." The situation is better for the parent with the child, if the divorced parents are living in different countries, because it is practically impossible to go to court and get the child away. International legal agreements take seriously only the obligation to pay child support.

But this hardly changes the unfortunate situation, the semi-orphan status of the little "half-breed." Because--just to protect the already mentioned status of "being in possession"--the parent raising the child usually does not even want to hear about the "other one" even visiting the child.

There is little said about them, about the half-Hungarian children being raised by one parent. Perhaps their fate would prompt some meditation and thought on the part of all those who crowd day after day into the waiting room of the ministry and fill out papers with impatient zeal so that they can make their own as soon as possible the "export bride" or the "import groom."

8984

CSO: 2500

IMPORTANCE OF FEBRUARY LOCAL ELECTIONS DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 10 Nov 77 p 2

[PAP commentary by Bronislaw Tronski]

[Text] The term of the people's primary councils which were elected in 1973 is ending. The press has published a report that the State Council ordered new elections to be held on Sunday, 5 February 1978. These will be the first separate elections to people's councils of this level.

Thus, the Polish people will elect their new representatives to the 2,353 primary people's councils including 262 people's municipal councils, 21 people's district councils in Warsaw, Kracow and Wroclaw, 1,533 people's gmina councils and 537 people's joint councils for the city and the parish.

As organs of the state authority and the basic organs of community self-government, these aforementioned people's councils play the most important role in the structure of our socialist democracy. They are directly connected with the locality where millions of people live and work shaping our nation, where citizens jointly decide in solving local problems on a daily basis and contribute to the realization of national tasks.

"Experience has confirmed the correctness of the new territorial division of the country and the new structure of executive authorities," stated Edward Gierek during the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee. In practice, the distance between the central departments and the basic units of authority has been shortened.

According to the State Council, the people's primary councils have grown in importance in the socioeconomic life of the country during their last term. The new system which has functioned for more than 2 years demonstrated that it promotes strengthening of cities and parishes, and it creates better conditions for realization of the resolutions of the Seventh Congress of PZPR and the new economic strategy.

The organizational and inspirational function of these councils has grown. There was further progress in increasing community action and in the activity of self-government organs of the city and village inhabitants. Participation of people in managing local and state affairs has grown. In this area it is very important to strengthen continuously the controls over realization of tasks resulting from plans of the socioeconomic development of particular regions.

Thus, for example, the people's gmina councils raise their level of control over affairs pertaining to intensification of agricultural production and socioeconomic changes in villages. The people's councils have become more influential in improving the quality of work in plants and enterprises, in improving working conditions and also in the activities of business and service establishments.

Certainly, there is still much to be done in this area; many things can be improved. Not all prerogatives given by the law to the people's councils of cities, parishes and districts have been sufficiently utilized. It is this huge reserve which still has not borne fruit that should be included in the daily activities of representative councils, and therefore in our self-government.

Let us realize that it is up to us and only us to decide in what degree we will be able to satisfy our needs better and better, to act more efficiently and to raise our standard of living. When we write and talk this way, we also mean self-control over the tasks we realize and collective, social control of the state administration work. It is an activity which demands a citizen's sense of responsibility for individual and collective work and a patriotic involvement in eliminating the existing negative phenomena. This means the councils should value and utilize more fully all forms of social initiative, all units of self-government by workers, inhabitants of cities and villages; thus all these dynamic mainsprings which insure solving the common problems affecting a given locality and in sum deciding about our mutual development.

The upcoming election in which we are all going to vote, united in the Front of Nation's Unity, is an act of a political significance. It will take place after the second PZPR National Conference which will create an occasion to acquaint inhabitants of cities and villages with its resolutions and will allow for defining tasks for each newly elected council, tasks which will result from decisions of this party forum. This will give a basis for wide discussions on problems facing us.

8430  
CSO: 2600

LEGAL SANCTIONS FOR CULPABLE INEFFICIENCY VIEWED

Warsaw PRAWO I ZYCIE in Polish No 44, 30 Oct 77 p 5

[Article by Adam Jozefowicz: "Responsibility of the Worker for Poor Quality of Products."]

[Text] Higher efficiency of economic activity and better satisfaction of the working people's needs--these are the issues on which the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee deliberated.

Closely connected with this set of issues is the search for and application of instruments stimulating industrial and service enterprises to produce output of high quality and to improve the quality of goods destined for the domestic and foreign markets. This task has not only economic aspects, but also legal ones, for the prescriptions of the labor law impose on workers the obligations of performing work as required and of attaining the best results, which means output of a high quality. They also envisage various forms of material liability for the faulty production, with culpability on the part of the worker, of poor-quality goods. Because of the dimensions of the phenomenon of the poor quality of products, this issue has presently acquired a substantial political and socioeconomic significance.

In the commodity turnover of socialized trade there are frequently found products of low quality, goods which are badly and carelessly made and contain defects. The purchase of such commodities does not assure reliability in their utilization. After a short period the object breaks down and requires repairs. If we happen to buy such goods, we complain about the bad quality of production, and sometimes about the low quality of services rendered by some of the agencies of warranty repairs. Do we, however, reflect on the fact that we are ourselves producers or providers of services at our own work places and that concern for a high quality of the results of labor is our duty?

The labor code imposes on every worker certain obligations specified in its regulations. According to articles 12 and 100 paragraph 1, the worker is obliged to perform work carefully and conscientiously, to observe labor

discipline, to strive for the attainment of the best possible results and to this end to display a suitable initiative, to show concern for a good work place and for its property and to comply with the orders of superiors relating to the work. Under what circumstances can it be held that the worker is performing his work conscientiously and carefully?

A worker performs his work conscientiously if he fully utilizes his qualifications and capacities during the working hours. On the other hand, that worker performs his work carefully who observes the rules, instructions and pointers of his superior regarding the manner of work execution and displays concern about an economic utilization of raw materials, machinery and energy and about an appropriate quality of output.

The regulations of the labor law envisage a liability of the worker for nonfulfilment or inadequate fulfilment of his obligations which, for his own fault, gives rise to damages to the property of the work establishment such as, e.g., the spoiling of raw materials, damaging of materials, pre-fabricates or subassemblies received for production, and the like. The establishment can apply various sanctions envisaged by the law against the worker on grounds of careless execution of work, including material liability--limited to three months wages--for unintentional causing of damages to the establishment on the strength of article 114 of the labor code. However, for intentionally caused damages to the property of the work establishment the worker incurs a liability to the full amount on the basis of article 122 of the labor code.

One of the sanctions is the loss, envisaged by the regulation of article 82 of the labor code, of the right to remuneration for faulty production of goods or services with culpability on the part of the worker, or for production defects. A product can be considered defective if it does not conform to the quality norm as a result of inappropriate method of its production and a lack of compliance with production technology in accordance with the technical documentation. A service, on the other hand, is defective if it gives rise to a liability of the work establishment on grounds of a warranty and guarantee for physical faults.

The second precondition for the loss of remuneration for work is culpability of the worker, which comprises nonfulfilment or improper fulfilment of the labor obligations as well as subjectively faulty behaviour of the worker (intentional or unintentional). Culpability cannot be identified, however, with the fact [alone] of a nonfulfilment of obligations by the worker.

Improper quality of the product may be caused by nonobservance on the part of the worker of the technological discipline and technical norms suitable for the production of the given product. Alongside this, however, the poor quality of products is influenced to an overwhelming degree by the employment, on the order of the superiors, of inappropriate substitutes for materials, raw materials, semifabricates and sub-assemblies, especially for

materials which are in shortage (if cooperative deliveries occur at uneven intervals or come in unsuitable quality), as well as by an incorrect, tolerant operation of the quality control services of the enterprise in order to fulfill the plan before the end of an accounting period. In these cases there is no justification for refusing the worker payment of remuneration on grounds of qualitatively poor output and for burdening him with the responsibility for its defects. Frequently it is also difficult to establish the culpability of the worker who, by virtue of article 82 paragraph 1 of the labor code, has the right to remove deficiencies of a product or service rendered, but the enterprise does not agree to this because of urgent needs to realize other tasks.

If a defect has been removed, the worker is entitled to remuneration corresponding to the quality of the product or service, with the reservation, however, that no remuneration is due for the labor time spent on the removal of the defect. Small deficiencies are often the ordinary consequence of the imperfection of human nature and can hardly be considered to be the fault of the worker (e.g., those caused by overwork, error, or the assignment of jobs to workers not possessing suitable qualifications). In these circumstances the defects cannot constitute the basis for establishing culpability of a worker who has duly tried to fulfill his obligations.

If in such situations the worker were to be burdened with the liability for quality defects, this would constitute a liability for the result of work which falls within the specific risk of the employing institution. According to article 117 paragraph 2 of the labor code the worker does not bear a risk connected with the activity of the enterprise, but does answer for not exercising due care. Because of the difficulty of proving culpability of the worker and of discriminating between objective causes of poor quality production and those which are subjective (the fault of the worker), the sanctions of denial of payment of remuneration envisaged in article 82 of the labor code are in practice rarely applied. Disputes on this background between enterprise and worker in the arbitration commissions are exceptionally rare and in most cases do not meet with recognition by the labor and social courts. It is also likely that article 82 of the labor code is in practice not yet sufficiently appreciated by enterprises as a legal instrument aiming at the improvement of the quality of products and services.

By contrast, a widespread application of other sanctions for defective output, waste of materials and qualitatively improper products can be noted. These are disciplinary instruments and conventional penalties for improper execution of work or quality defects, the consequences of which are worse for the worker than the withholding of a small sum for defective output and products which are faulty or do not satisfy the quality norm. If the worker works poorly and does not contribute to the fulfilment of the enterprise task, he as a rule does not receive the monetary rewards provided by article 105 of the labor code. Moreover, for nonobservation of labor discipline and work regulations, the worker can be punished--on the basis of article 108

paragraph 1 of the labor code--by means of warning and reprimand. The regulation of paragraph 5 section 2 of the Decree of the Council of Ministers of 20 Dec 1974 regarding work regulations and the principles for justifying absences from work and granting releases from work (Dziennik ustaw, No 49, Item 299) orders that work regulations should indicate that poor and careless execution of work and spoiling of materials constitute particularly striking violations of the established order and work discipline.

It is in this connection that enterprises apply conventional penalties for poor quality of products with culpability on the part of the worker, which in turn have an important significance in the determination of workers' bonuses for work results.

A worker who works poorly and produces output which is defective or of lowered quality can be deprived--after a prior warning--of the periodical bonus from the enterprise reward fund, on the basis of article 6 section 2 of the Law of 23 Jun 1973 on the principles of creation and distribution of the enterprise reward fund (Dziennik ustaw, No 27, Item 150). Article 6 section 1 of this law prescribes that an individual reward from the enterprise reward fund is awarded to the worker on the basis of an evaluation of the results of his work, with special consideration for the quality of output and the number of products which were faultily produced with culpability falling on the worker. The bonuses, as a component of the remuneration for work, exercise an incentive function for the attainment of the quantitatively and qualitatively best results of work. The bonus reductions for improper quality of work provided for in the regulations on bonus payments are sometimes extended (by means of a broadening interpretation) to trivial offenses on the part of workers. If rigorously applied, they constitute a very palpable sanction--and one quite incommensurate with trivial offenses--that indeed gives rise to the attainment of the production plan target upon which the bonus is made dependent, but with the help of an instrument that does not always find the approval of the workers.

Independently of the principles of bonus payment, the sanction of notice of changing working conditions and pay is sometimes applied in the case of workers who work poorly for lack of the appropriate qualifications and knowledge, if this is combined with the spoiling of raw materials and the production of faulty products.

Systematic offences of a worker in the sphere of rendering work of due quality and its negligent or strikingly careless execution are even treated by some enterprises as a violation by the worker of the basic obligation of observing order and labor discipline, thus justifying the dissolution of the labor contract. However, this is the most far-reaching sanction, which as a rule does not appear as an independent basis for the dissolution of labor relations and frequently is linked with other offenses by the worker that in sum are treated as a serious violation of the basic labor obligations.

---

All of this goes to show that the socialized enterprises have at their disposal many possibilities to raise the quality of production also with the aid of various legal instruments which, depending on the concrete needs and conditions existing in individual production units, can contribute to the attainment of a high quality of commodities in addition to the application of technical-economic instruments. They thus serve the better satisfaction of societal needs and can prevent the production losses which impede the socioeconomic development of the country.

9108

CSO: 2600



ROMANIA

U.S. WAR COLLEGE STUDY REVIEWED BY FORMER AMBASSADOR

Bucharest REVISTA ROMANA DE STUDII INTERNATIONALE in Romanian No 4 (Oct-Dec)  
77 pp 511-514

[Review by Corneliu Bogdan, former ambassador to the United States from Romania, entitled "The Burden of Certain Outdated Concepts. U.S. Army Specialists on Detente," of a collection of essays under the title "National Security and Detente," with a foreward by General Andrew J. Goodpaster and contributions by faculty members of the U.S. Army War College, Apollo Editions, Thomas Y. Cromwell Company, New York, 1976]

[Text] The collection of essays by professors and specialists (military and civilian) at the U.S. Army War College under the generic title "National Security and Detente" is of interest because of the subject discussed and the competence and positions of the authors. As usual, the volume opens with a disclaimer that the essays express the personal opinions of the authors and do not reflect the opinions of the U.S. government and the official institutes in whose framework these authors work. Without a doubt, this disclaimer should not be ignored.

However, it is none the less true that, considering the positions that these people hold or have held, as well as the role of the Army War College, where the majority of these authors work (as defined in the introduction of this volume as one of informing and stimulating the thought of certain persons with responsibilities in the field of national security), the opinions expressed reflect some of the principal currents of thought within an important segment of elite American leaders and which have an influence upon the practical orientation of U.S. foreign policy.

From the outset, it is fitting that we note that these studies, within the limits, of course, determined by well known interests and ideological positions (such as, first of all, the concern over safeguarding the prominent, leading role of the U.S. in world affairs), represent a serious effort to study and take a sober look at certain new realities in international life.

We note the quasi-unanimous opinion which regards detente as a necessity in contemporary international life.

In its introduction, "Interests and Strategy in An Era of Detente: A General View," General Goodpaster, former supreme commander of NATO forces in Europe, writes:

"The essays in this collection are very broad in their thematic coverage and diverse in their substance, but one theme runs throughout--detente, that complex of political orientations and actions created around the efforts to reduce tensions and normalize relations, especially between the United States and Russia. Detente, as we are coming to understand, is an extremely complicated and diverse concept that is frequently not clear enough, especially in its military implications. But, detente will probably continue to exist even if its substance and forms should change with time and despite the confusion it might generate" (p IX).

In general, the essays reveal the decline of the role of military factors in international relations and in general the change in the balance of power on a global scale in favor of small and medium size countries and the developing nations--a revelation which is even more remarkable coming from specialists within the ranks of the army.

Edward Atkeson, deputy commander of the War College, noting that the joint action of the petroleum exporting countries (OPEC) in October 1973 marked "a fundamental change in international power" (p 43), emphasizes that "the experience of October 1973 marked the first occasion where member states of the Third World exercised real power. Never before until that time were the former colonial territories or non-aligned nations in a position to dictate political and economic conditions to the industrial countries with such wide effect and efficiency."

In the opinion of this same author, the old cliché of "communist military threats" is replaced by the new priority for the capitalist world of the threat of "inflation and world depression" (p 44).

"There is an increase," he concludes, "in the recognition of the fact that an economic threat, if it is not counter-attacked, can bring about serious setbacks for the less stable members of NATO" (p 44).

There is also the resistance of the American public towards new U.S. foreign military involvement. Again, Atkeson writes:

"The clearest lesson learned from the Vietnam experience is that there is a threshold of tolerance in the American political system regarding assistance for military expeditions abroad" (p 42).

Another author, Dr Anthony Wermuth, reveals also the ever greater limits being imposed by the current balance of power upon any attempts of hegemony in interstate relations:

"The ability to determine the final outcome of international interactions is becoming less and less possible for a single nation, even if it is a superpower. In the sense of being the sole source, the principal motive force, the unilateral decision maker, the role of being the number one nation is losing its credibility and respect... the majority of Americans appear to show a decreasing interest in being the number one nation, at least from a quantitative point of view" (p 275). Proceeding along this line of thought, Lt Colonel Lewis Sorley, an expert assigned to the office of the Secretary of Defense, assumes the evaluation given by the former director of the Institute of Strategic Studies in London, Alastair Buchan, according to whom the current international system differs from the dominant system in the last part of the last century and the first part of the 20th century by "the capacity of the small to defy the great" (p 251).

Under these conditions, Dr Wermuth's evaluation appears similarly realistic in that "a constructive objective in any attempt to resolve a conflict is one of pursuing the situation so that your side does not lose and that the opponent, to an equal degree, does not lose either" (p 264).

The realistic recognition of certain changes occurring in the balance of power on the international scene logically leads to the question:

What changes must be made in the overall international system and in the practical activities of the states in order to constructively take into consideration these changes so that the system can operate in accordance with the interests of peace and progress for all nations?

It would appear, however, from this point of view, that the scientific, innovative and realistic spirit of the authors of the essays reviewed becomes less active and, yes, most of the time totally empty.

It is true that in some problems certain new orientations do appear.

Thus, professor Dr Donald R. Weatherbee, chief of the political science department at the War College, points out the vices of the old bloc policy used by the U.S. in Asia and the Far East which tends to "divide the nations in South East Asia" and emphasizes that "the U.S. appears to accept neutrality as a future goal in Southeast Asia if it is described as a type of cooperation and collaboration under conditions of equal economic, social and cultural access" (p 179).

But, in the fundamental problems, especially regarding Europe, disarmament and the Third World, the central concern of the authors appears to be one of saving the bases of the old international system, even when they come into direct contradiction with the changes and new conditions identified as such by these authors.

Thus, Colonel Sorley, beginning with the evaluation that "the international community... does not have a sufficient consensus in order to be able

to give a joint response to the problems presented by an era of civil violence" (p 252), arrives at the conclusion that "for the moment... the use or threat of the use of force is the sole, truly operative restraint for controlling the dangerous and irresponsible actions occurring on a global scale" (p 252). Who, however, would be able to apply this force under the conditions where the supremacy of a single power is no longer possible, as the authors of this collection have stressed? Carrying the logic of "force" to its limit, Colonel Sorley points out that the great powers which "represent the most powerful forces for order in the world community, should have a vote carrying more weight than the smaller nations in the United Nations and in world politics in general" (p 253).

Without a doubt, force cannot be eliminated from international life except in a gradual manner and obtaining a consensus requires a consistent and lengthy effort. But, the path towards these imperative goals cannot be, in our time, one of the consacration and codification of the role of the great powers as the ones controlling rights and sanctions, but, to the contrary, it must be the continuing democratization of the inter-governmental organizations, the negotiating for and all international affairs.

Moreover, the experience of recent years confirms that only along such a path could there have been realized some progress in the fundamental problems such as underdevelopment and European security and cooperation, and that certain shapes and "joint responses of humanity to the problems facing it" are beginning to solidify.

On the other hand, everytime there was a return to the old path of threatening the use of force and of the great powers attempting to impose solutions, the results were negative and dangerous situations were created for world peace.

It is true, as Sorley points out, that "there is the possibility of world anarchy and the crash of the international economic system" (p 252).

However, this possibility is created, first of all, by maintaining the undemocratic systems based on force and upon the division of the world into rich countries and poor countries, and, from this point of view, the formulas presented by Sorley represent a sure recipe for world anarchy and even more for conflicts with inestimable consequences.

Similarly, it appears to us profoundly erroneous and dangerous regarding the predominant approach taken in the essays reviewed. In these essays, detente is nearly exclusively conceived as a detente between the United States and the Soviet Union, especially with regards to nuclear arms control.

"The impact or actions (of detente) rapidly decrease as we move away from relations, especially nuclear relations, between the Soviet Union and the

United States and towards the problems of NATO, the Middle East and Southeast Asia. We see detente as a product of the game between the great powers and, at the same time, as a source of strategy which guides at least a part of this game" (p XIX), writes General Goodpaster. And, Anthony Wermuth notes that "detente is a formal bilateral policy between the two superpowers (other nations affect this policy and are affected by it, but are not party to it)" (p 273).

Under these conditions, it is not surprising that the problem of disarmament or even of curbing the arms race, without which a real, durable detente cannot be conceived, is practically ignored in these essays.

By implication, some studies point out the dangers of the nuclear arms race and the fact that to the degree that this race is accelerated and the military gap between the great powers, on one hand, and the other countries, on the other hand, increases, the danger of local conflicts grows, without reducing the dangers of certain global confrontations.

However, from this factual analysis, not a single practical conclusion is drawn and not a single path is pointed out for reducing the arms race.

A single reference is made to the possibility of the West accepting the proposal that the nuclear powers come to an agreement not to first use nuclear arms. Such a possibility is conceived, however, only under the conditions of advancing the classical arms race! (our stress). (Also see the study on weapons having guidance systems of great precision and the implications for detente, by Edward B. Atkeson, pp 131-152).

In the same manner, and practically ignored, is the problem of development, an essential component of international security.

Although the dangers of "the crash of the international economic system" are pointed out and although we are reminded that "many underdeveloped countries will not accept the lack of food with resignation and hunger as their permanent destiny," one cannot find in this entire collection of essays a single one dealing with the problem of underdevelopment.

A single reference, and that made from the position of a great power, foresees the great powers establishing certain norms what should be met by the developing nations in order "to be directed" towards international assistance (population control, measures for a more equitable distribution of wealth, control of corruption and so forth)! (p 253).

Such a point of view ignores the fact, euphemistically speaking, that the developing nations understand to an ever growing degree the need to make their own efforts and for internal reforms for the purpose of eliminating underdevelopment. More and more ground is being gained by the thesis

consistently promoted by our country, according to which international assistance should be tied to the broadening of the domestic efforts of each developing nation.

In reality, the principal block in the path of eliminating underdeveloping is today the still rigid position of the developed capitalist countries towards an encompassing, radical international program for eliminating underdevelopment in which all large and small states, both developed and developing, would participate under equitable conditions.

In order to become a durable and irreversible process, there is the need for detente to encompass all countries and to be extended to all fields of cooperation between states and to be accompanied by real disarmament measures. This is understood by some of the authors whose contribution to the collection is under discussion.

"The current military detente between the Soviet Union and the United States must be completed by actions designed to provide stability for peaceful cooperative relations between the nations of the world. Peaceful co-existence must be designed so as to allow the dignity of mankind to progress. Detente must be conceived as a process in which man in his social environment can attain a higher form of social development," writes Robert Kennedy, an expert of the Institute of Strategic Studies, in the conclusion of his study, "International Leadership in the Era of Detente" (p 317).

His colleague, John F. Scott, points out for his part: "What makes detente valuable are the economic, cultural scientific, technical and human benefits. But, at a given moment... the fundamental symbol of detente--a military force--must also yield benefits by its absence... If detente does not respond to these problems better than when we were in a position to respond without detente, then detente will remain as an idea whose sole defect was that it was never really attempted" (p 333).

Unfortunately, however, such ideas are not fully developed and accompanied by suggestions for practical actions.

The volume "National Security and Detente" thus reflects the complex and difficult process through which the realities of the contemporary world are making in-roads into American political thought and cutting into the still heavy burden of certain old dangerous concepts and the greater importance that political activities in these circumstances will play for the promotion of the new principles of equity and justice in international life.

8724

CSO: 2700

GERMAN-LANGUAGE BOOK ON ROMANIAN HISTORY RECOMMENDED

Bucharest INVATAMINTUL LICEAL in Romanian No 10, Dec 77 p 35

[Article by Prof Iohana Henning, from Mathematics and Physics Secondary School No 6 in Bucharest (in which German is the Language of Instruction): "A Significant Contribution to the History of the Romanians"]

[Text] The book "Germanii despre originea romanilor" [The Germans About the Origin of the Romanians], by Prof Dr Ion Hurdubetiu, published in 1977, in the German language, by the Kriterion Publishing House,\* is a profound analysis of theses presented by German historiography in connection with the ethnogenesis of the Romanian people and, especially, in regard to the matter of continuity.

First of all, sources from ancient times and the middle ages referring to the continuity and the Roman character of the Romanian people are presented (Chapters I and II). These are analyzed in a critical manner by the author. The presentation of the sources is most necessary since they refer primarily to historiographers who have written about the Romanian people.

Beginning with Saxon historiographers during the time of the Renaissance (the last part of Chapter II), Ion Hurdubetiu also presents an analysis of the opinions and theses of German historiographers during the time of the struggles for social and national liberation (Chapter III), during the time of the unification and the struggle for independence (Chapter IV), during the time of the achievement of Romanian national state unity (Chapter VI), and, in conclusion, he treats this issue in contemporary historiography (Chapter VII). A special chapter (Chapter V) is devoted to controversies in German and European historiography regarding the matter of continuity. In this chapter, the author proves that the theory of R. Roesler is unscientific and prompted by political motives. The conclusion arrived at after reading the book is that the most important

\*Ion Hurdubetiu, "Die Deutschen uber die Herkunft der Rumanen," Kriterion Verlag, Bukarest, 1977.

German language scholars (historiographers, linguists, ethnographers, geographers) such as J. Burckhardt, Th. Mommsen, L. von Ranke, Fr. Altheim, E. Gamillscheg, and H. Siegert, to name only a few, assert, on the basis of careful scientific research, the continuity of the Daco-Roman population in the Carpathian-Danubian region and, especially, in Transylvania.

The results of discoveries during the past 50 years in the fields of archeology, linguistics (The Atlas of the Romanian Language), and of toponomical research, in addition to the critical analysis of the sources, have been utilized to strengthen this thesis.

In the book which we are reviewing, I. Hurdubetiu has not only diligently and conscientiously collected the opinions of the German scholars but he has also compared them with the sources which have been utilized in a critical manner and with the results of the new research. We should also stress other obvious qualities: its clear expression, its concise presentation, and the well-thought-out structure of the entire volume. In my opinion, however, the placing of footnotes at the end of the chapters makes it hard to follow the text.

The value of the book written by Dr Ion Hurdubetiu, secondary school professor in Cimpulung Muscel, is emphasized in a warm foreword to the book written by the eminent Romanian historian Constantin C. Giurescu.

We recommend this book to all who are interested in the formation of the Romanian people and, especially, to history professors. We also suggest that it be published in the Romanian language because of the great interest in the subject and the wealth of documentary material which it offers to scholars, historians, and professors, as well as to the public in general and, especially, to young students.

CSO: 2700



ROMANIA

BRIEFS

CEAUSESCU CONDOLENCES TO HUSAYN--To His Majesty Husayn ibn Talal, King of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, Amman I want to convey to you sincere condolences in connection with the death of the ambassador of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan to the Socialist Republic of Romania, Ya'qub 'Uways. Please convey our sympathy to the bereaved family. [signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, 28 December. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 27 Dec 77 p 5 AU]

CSO: 2700

HUMAN RIGHTS OF MACEDONIANS IN BULGARIA VIOLATED

Skopje SABOTA (weekly supplement to NOVA MAKEDONIJA) in Macedonian 10 Dec 77  
pp 1-2

[Article by Dr Vasil Topurkovski]

[Text] Respecting the Charter of the Rights of Man is not only the interest of the United Nations, but also the interest of every individual member of it, since only in that manner can the full realization of the expressed policy of the United Nations be expected.

The question, as well as the problem, of protecting human rights, acquires added urgency over a period of time, and there is special importance in organizing an international association for realizing and protecting those rights. In this sense, a special place and role belongs to the United Nations, but interest in protecting human rights does not rely only upon that level. It acquires a specific coloration in the involvement and activities within multilateral groups of a regional character, as well as in the naturally present bilateral agreements that exist.

In addition, intense activity in the field of protecting human rights has a complex significance in the social situation of the moment, and the international character of that protection fosters the involvement of an enormous number of persons.

In a world which has become extraordinarily interdependent, and in which there has long existed the essential need for mutual negotiation to resolve burdening problems, it is unsupportable to formulate treatment of human rights in one manner or another as the exclusive domain of the domestic affairs of every state individually, or as a question of exclusively internal policy. International protection of human rights today lies within the principles of internal rights and has a cogent quality, while its goal is only to assure an international supervision of the behavior of the world community regarding this question. The overcoming of the indicated formulation, of course, is not being questioned, but that does not mean that the development of generally accepted standards in international law, including

the domain of human rights, represents a process of their realization as a natural law for relating them to respective factors in the international community.

Just because of the existing divergence in approach and treatment of the overall complexities in the domain of human rights, constant labor is necessary to expose negative actions both on the political plane, in relations between states, and on the scientific plane, with the development of a climate for debating that will improve the situation on this plane.

In this context, there is great importance to the problems relating to national minorities that are dislocated from their source nations, and their rights. Although for a long time disputes have continued in scientific, political and diplomatic circles about the unity, or the separation, of questions of human rights and of the rights of national minorities, it is entirely clear that a favorable position in their cultural, political and educational life is achieved by following the course of constructive formulation of their legal position regarding rights, so that outside of that there is nothing to be gained from involvement in the indicated dispute. An additional argument along this line is the possibility of showing that the rights of national minorities, i.e., the basis for their recognition and protection, is to be bound both in the standards of international law and in such documents as relate to human rights in concreto, just as in those places which regulate only the material situation connected with national minorities.

In this case, and regardless of whether we are dealing with the general problem of protecting human rights, understanding that to include the rights of national minorities, or whether we are talking of two sets of rights, there is a deep dependency of international peace and security on the trend in this movement for human rights toward respecting and furthering the rights indicated. That condition finds its most dramatic expression in the Charter of the United Nations, where the Preamble states that these nations are resolved "to reestablish faith in basic human rights" and to unite their "might to maintain international peace and security." The drama in this tone is not, however, of the nature of an appeal, for it represents an introduction into obligations of all those who by their solemn ratification of the Charter emphasized their legitimacy in the world family of nations and peoples.

It is natural that the United Nations are vitally interested in implementing the provisions of the Charter and the decisions of their agencies. This established a bona fide membership, which alone could form a serious basis for a successfully functioning world organization. Respecting the letter of the Charter is not in itself only in the interest of the organization, but of every individual member of it, since only in this manner can the full realization of the planned policies of the United Nations be expected. Of course, this is not simply theorizing or an apologia for the desired result.

It is the goal of the Organization, consequently specified as the principle of article 2 of the Charter: "To insure the rights and privileges which accrue from membership, all members shall conscientiously carry out the obligations that they have assumed in agreement with this Charter."

Bearing in mind the implementation of this principle, it would be interesting to test its practice regarding faithfulness to the Charter and other relevant documents and acts aimed at regulating protection of the rights of man in general and in that context, the rights of national minorities.

Certainly, the goal of this modest contribution is thoroughly concretized. To be precise, the entire analysis will be conducted to illuminate, inasmuch as possible, the behavior of Bulgaria, as a member of the United Nations, in relation to the Macedonian national group which lives on Bulgarian territory.

The legal position of the various national minorities living on Bulgarian territory was factually determined in the Peace Agreement of 1947, which incorporated legal obligatory standards for banning discrimination on the basis of sex, race or language. (Article 2 of the Peace Agreement with Bulgaria states: "1. Bulgaria shall undertake all necessary measures to assure that persons under Bulgarian rule, regardless of their race, sex, language or faith, shall enjoy human rights and basic freedoms, including therein freedom of speech, press, publication, political conviction and the right to assemble. 2. In addition, Bulgaria assumes the obligation to see that laws in effect in Bulgaria, both in content and in application, shall not create or provoke discrimination between Bulgarian citizens on the basis of their race, sex, language or faith....")

Although it is perfectly possible to argue that Bulgaria has paid very little attention to its responsibilities stemming from the Peace Agreement, nevertheless, thanks to the general climate in relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, the position of the Macedonian people in Bulgaria has improved markedly in comparison to the prewar period. The Bled agreement of 1947 expedited the improvement of the general situation between the two Balkan countries, and thanks to that, the schools in Pirinska Macedonia began to use the Macedonian language for instruction, textbooks were printed in Macedonian, libraries, cultural institutions and a Macedonian theater were opened and established. In this period some 170,000 Macedonians lived in Pirinska Macedonia. The fateful year for relations between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria was, however, 1948, when for practical purposes all contact ceased as a result of the policy and actions of the Informbureau.

Since then, Bulgaria has changed its position toward the Macedonian people and has begun to undertake legal and administrative measures intended forcefully to eliminate the very fact of its existence. The most obvious evidence of this assertion is found in the censuses of the population in Bulgaria, which gave the following results:

1956--178,862 Macedonians

1965--9,000 Macedonians

1975--no declared Macedonians

This drastic reduction in the number of Macedonians was achieved by removing the category Macedonian in the census of 1965 and by various repressive measures undertaken by the Bulgarian authorities to make it impossible to declare oneself to be Macedonian, so that the "disappearance" of all Macedonians in 1975 was in essence the result of fabrications of the Bulgarian party and state in order to form and have a single nation on the territory of Bulgaria-- a socialist Bulgarian nation.

This type of policy in regard to such important questions has resulted in the fact that Bulgaria not only is in no position to normalize relations with Yugoslavia, but also finds itself in the role of creator of a highly unenviable and symptomatic position in relation to the international community and its responsibilities in the international sphere.

That position by Bulgaria, which is hard to support, is in essence a latent discrimination toward the Macedonian people, which is being carried out in order to eliminate its rights to express its national identity, to gain an education, and to nurture its traditions actively and promote its own national culture.

We find the basis for this type of assertion primarily in relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations (see art 1 pt 3; art 2 pt 2; art 10; art 13 pt 6; art 16; art 55 pt c; art 56; art 60; art 62 pt 2; art 68; art 73 pts a, b, c, d, and e; art 76 pts a, b, c, and d). This stresses the need to respect human rights, and aspects of the involvement of the international community in implementing provisions of the Charter and the standards of international law concerning human rights. Further, these points formulate the interdependence of good relations between countries that are members and their approach to these problems, as well as the outline of the policy of the world organization for permanent determination of long-term activities in the area of establishing a generally satisfactory climate for human rights.

In the fundamental formulations of the Charter that relate to human rights, we can with complete success and conviction find propositions which comprise the basis of all documents of this organization indicating the content of the responsibilities of member nations concerning the means for protecting, respecting and advancing human rights. Yet for that reason, it is impermissible to seek the basis for the existence or nonexistence of some definite rights in individual documents or separately, when the only correct and dialectical approach is to draw conclusions for respecting human rights, and in that context the rights of national minorities, from analysis of the totality of the Charter of the United Nations and all the documents and acts of various agencies of that organization which deal with or decide such questions. Of course, it is true that the Charter as a document has an

expressly evolutionary character, yet the bases upon which it was placed, even though they change, still have a durable nature which is absolutely indisputable when human rights are involved.

With all of this foreword, the question of the relationship of Bulgaria toward the Macedonian national minority on its territory is presented in an expressively sharp and delineated pattern.

The right of the Macedonian people in Bulgaria to constitute an organized group of the population of that country, which freely expresses its national allegiance and manifests itself in the organization of education and pedagogy in the Macedonian language and in nurturing the cultural traditions of its own people, can be considered today to be among the established standards of international law. The activities of the United Nations in the field of creating the conditions for the codification of generally binding rules relating to this domain, inspired by the well-known and often cited provisions of the Charter for "basic human rights and dignity and the value of the human person," acquire a decisive tone and direction in the creation of such general obligations as the necessity for respecting the rights of national minorities, including the adoption of such important acts as the General Declaration on Human Rights, international pacts on human rights, The Declaration and Convention for Eliminating All Forms of Racial Discrimination, The Declaration of the Principles of International Law for Friendly Relations and Cooperation Between Nations in keeping with the Charter of the United Nations, and others.

The General Declaration of Human Rights was adopted and proclaimed by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 10 December 1948. That date is celebrated throughout the world as International Human Rights Day. When that declaration was adopted, it was to represent the ideal toward which all nations would strive, and it contained exceptionally important initial premises which would guarantee all the desired rights of the Macedonians in Bulgaria. Foremost was the emphasis on respecting human rights in general as a condition for good relations among nations, and each member nation of the United Nations was to strive toward this goal if it was peaceloving. This connection between peaceloving, good international and good intergovernmental relations, and respect for human rights in general, which implies inherently the rights of national minorities, was not only of indirect influence in this matter, since the principle of international protection of these rights to avoid the danger of threats to international peace and security indubitably annuled the assertion of any state that attempted to treat its relationship toward the rights of national minorities as an internal problem, in which neither the United Nations (on the basis of article 2 point 7 of the Charter of the United Nations prohibiting "interference in those activities that are strictly within the bounds of the domestic responsibilities of each country"), nor other states, can intervene. Thus it is a fact that the formulations of the United Nations Charter constitute a goal of the United Nations and member nations in connection with good international

relations, and they have a place again in the General Declaration which in a sense proclaims the importance of the entire matter of human rights for relations in the international community. As will be demonstrated, this evaluation has significance in connection with the position of Bulgaria in the international community.

More concretely, however, in the General Declaration, although it does not mention national minorities expressly, their rights are the subject of highly explicit guarantees in article 2, which states that "everyone shall enjoy all the rights and freedoms proclaimed in this Declaration, without regard to race, skin color, sex, language, religion, political or other conviction, nationality (emphasis of the author), or social origin, wealth, birth, or other circumstances." And the rights and freedoms foreseen by the Declaration contain as well those which in the period prior to 1948 were recognized for the Macedonians by Bulgaria, such as freedom of thought and expression (article 19 of the General Declaration of Human Rights), which normally includes the right to express nationality, the right to education (article 26 point 2 of the General Declaration of Human Rights), and the right to create social conditions in which the rights and freedoms proclaimed in the Declaration can be fully realized (article 28 of the General Declaration of Human Rights).

The Bulgarian arguments are, however, well-known, on the basis of which the above assertions supposedly are unsupportable. Firstly, the General Declaration is not legally binding, and secondly, no mention is specifically made in it of the rights of national minorities.

The first thesis would probably be more difficult to refute since in 1948, when the Declaration was ratified, legal and diplomatic circles generally held the conception that it represented an ideal and an effect which had yet to be attained. Yet nevertheless, at that time Bulgaria recognized that the Macedonian national minority had all rights, even though "perhaps" Bulgaria should not have done so, at least as far as its relationship to international law is concerned. At the present moment, however, to discuss that in isolation from the General Declaration would mean to retard the entire progressive development of international law, and thereby, the objectively accepted legal procedure for forming principles of international law. The creation of a climate of continual reiteration of definite relationships between nations, also created the obligation for them to take positions toward questions in the international sphere, and in past decades, Bulgaria has voted positively for all projects of the United Nations in the domain of human rights. It is clear that in agreement with such a firm expression both of Bulgaria and of the majority of member nations of the world organization, the international legal principle is developing with an obligatory nature of respecting human rights in general and the rights of national minorities specifically. The content of the General Declaration is incorporated in totality in this generally valid standard of international law, and that is even broader in its composition, as will be seen by a detailed analysis of it.

The second thesis of the Bulgarian argument is quite contradictory in itself, since nonrecognition of the rights of national minorities just because they are not specifically mentioned, even though this represents a violation of such rights, would not be in accord with article 30 of the General Declaration which expressly states that "no provision of this Declaration can be interpreted as justification for any state, group or person to perform any action aimed at eliminating the rights and freedoms" of the Declaration itself. In addition, not to permit the Macedonian minority to express its national identity freely, as a right which Bulgaria otherwise recognizes by the very acceptance of the Declaration, and to justify this policy referring to the lack of anything concrete regarding the rights of national minorities in it, nevertheless represents a restriction of the already recognized and accepted right of free expression. On the other hand, failure to respect even a single right in the Declaration not only constitutes a failure to respect the provisions of the Declaration and the indicated principle of international law, but also necessarily leads to a restriction of other basic rights in the Declaration, which in any case is most obviously manifested in the example of the Macedonian national minority in Bulgaria.

Even if it were possible with a certain amount of respect for some aspects to hear such argumentation that does not recognize the legal validity of the General Declaration of Human Rights, the situation changes completely when we begin to consider international pacts for human rights, which the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted in Resolution 2200-XXI of 16 December 1966 and opened for signing and ratification and acceptance the International Pacts for Human Rights. These acts of the United Nations were inaugurated as legally binding and in that sense they were subject to the normal procedures for the adoption of multilateral international agreements. We bring this up in order to eliminate beforehand any sort of hypotheses that might come into view for opening the eternally present discussion, if not the dilemma, of the legal (in)validity of certain specific international legal acts.

In the International Pact for Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, as in the International Pact for Civil and Political Rights, which in other respects uses a very studious manner to standardize rights and freedoms that were foreseen in the General Declaration of Human Rights, there is a very carefully wrought formula to guarantee the enjoyment of human rights as they are included in the Pacts, without discrimination on the basis of "race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, or national or social origin...." (The International Pact for Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, art 2 pt 2; and The International Pact for Civil and Political Rights, art 2 pt 1). Herein among other things lie the bases for the rights of the Macedonian nationality in Bulgaria. If no discrimination were practiced relative to the Macedonians' rights and enjoyment of them, and if at the same time Bulgaria respected its obligations under the two Pacts to refrain from interpreting anything in them as granting the right to activities that are detrimental to the indicated rights and freedoms (The International Pact



for Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, art 5 pt 1; and The International Pact for Civil and Political Rights, art 5 pt 1), then no problems would be present to hinder regularization of position of the Macedonian nationality.

However, all these rights and freedoms, which in the most concrete manner are guaranteed for everyone and therefore for the Macedonian nationality in Bulgaria, with explicit provisions in the International Pact for Civil and Political Rights as indicated in article 27 where it states that national minorities shall have the right to develop their culture, to use their language and practice their religion, apparently make no impression on the Bulgarian government. The very fact that this provision is found in a so-called political pact has a certain weight and explains an especially important aspect of the rights of national minorities which transcends their humanitarian side, and that is the political aspect involved in respecting, or ignoring, their rights. When the enormous significance of the political component is realized in the international sphere, then all formulations for mutual bonds of security and peace on a world scale, and respect for human rights, become the more justified and understandable.

The Bulgarian attitude toward the rights of the Macedonian nationality, however, come into direct conflict with a series of provisions of these Pacts. Thus it is apparent, for example, that Bulgaria is not behaving in accord with either article 5 of the Pacts, which anticipate that the rights contained in them cannot be restricted and limited by domestic governmental regulations because they are not spelled out, or are given only in limited form, in the two Pacts. Even more, in the case of noncompliance with certain of the rights specified in the Pacts, and that means those relating to national minorities, according to the "Political Pact," states have the responsibility, in accordance with their constitutional rules and procedures, to undertake measures to pass domestic legal and juridical acts that will compensate for possible shortcomings (The International Pact for Civil and Political Rights, art 2 pt 2). In violation of this obligation, Bulgaria has not only failed to pass regulations to enable the unhampered existence and cultural life of the Macedonian people on Bulgarian territory, it has also revoked those laws which in certain periods had provided satisfactory solutions.

With all that in view, it is unnecessary to analyze in detail all the other violations of relevant provisions of these Pacts by Bulgaria, but it is perfectly clear that where the International Pacts for Human Rights are involved, the willful and irresponsible, even truly impermissible manner of behavior of this country in matters of respecting human rights or the rights of national minorities acquires an especially alarming dimension which explains the causes for the present unenviable climate of high tensions of world scope. How else can the Bulgarian position on international responsibilities be seen other than as actively destructive, when it is analyzed in the light of the Pacts and the General Declaration mentioned above.

This sort of extremely negative effect on Bulgaria's reputation in the international community takes on a particularly bad dimension in the inability

to construct a tested doctrine and theory which would seek to find that essential camouflage for such otherwise blatantly dissonant behavior.

If we analyze the Declaration (The Declaration of the United Nations on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, adopted unanimously by the General Assembly on 20 November 1963) and the Convention (The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, adopted by the General Assembly on 21 December 1965 and ready for signing on 7 March 1966) for the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination, we gain a more complete impression of the thoroughness of principles of international law with all the consequences of responsibilities in the sphere of respecting and advancing human rights, and specifically, the rights of national minorities.

The very titles of these two documents, and in a marked degree their content, are dominated by the aspect of racial discrimination, but that does not in general reduce their significance for the subject of our interest, since it is easy to prove that there is only an apparent lack of regulation of other forms of discrimination, which can also take on an explosive character under given sociopolitical and historical conditions.

An additional proof in this sense is article 1 of the Convention where, in essence, racial discrimination is defined as distinction, exception, limitation or preferential treatment based on race, color and national (emphasis of the author) or ethnic origin with the aim of eliminating conditions and possibilities for utilizing human rights on an equal basis, in political, economic, social, cultural, or any other aspect of public life.

Article 5 of this Convention once again expresses the multiplicity of meaning in the term "racial discrimination," as it is used in the context of the Convention and the Declaration. According to this article, countries are to forbid and eliminate racial discrimination in all forms and to guarantee the rights of all, without regard to race, color and national or ethnic origin. These rights, so clearly expressed, show just those rights which are being taken from the Macedonian national minority in Bulgaria:

The right to express national allegiance;  
Freedom of thought, conscience and religion;  
Freedom of expression; and  
The right to schooling and cultural activities.

In the same manner, article 3 of the Declaration brings out the necessity for preventing discrimination on the basis of such factors as national origin, concerning civil rights, education, employment and occupation.

The next article (4) of the Declaration contains the obligation of states to examine governmental and other public policies and to eliminate laws and regulations which cause or contribute to a state of racial discrimination. Bulgaria, however, apparently considers its responsibility to be the passing

of regulations for the population census from the opposite position, by making it impossible for the Macedonian national group to declare themselves to be Macedonians, and by passing laws creating the socialist Bulgarian nation, by unnatural methods, to put it as positively as possible.

Even the least ambitious analysis could not fail to note the fact that Bulgaria is practicing nothing but discrimination toward the Macedonian people on its territory, especially in the areas of the enjoyment of basic human rights, thereby placing itself in a position to violate the provisions of these two acts of international law.

Naturally, however, the perfidy of such behavior cannot be enclosed within isolated or separate bounds, so that Bulgaria daily and constantly finds itself in a situation wherein it violates some document or act of the broad international community.

When our attention is turned to the Declaration of the Principles of International Law for Friendly Relations and Cooperation Among Nations in harmony with the Charter of the United Nations (which Declaration of Principles was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations by Resolution 2625--XXV of 24 October 1970), which was listed last among the documents to be analyzed here, there inevitably appears the already completely affirmed principle and rule of applicable international law for the necessity and responsibility of respecting human rights. This Declaration lists as one of the most important principles the obligation of countries to promote universal respect and honoring of human rights, and fundamental freedoms, and to collaborate in the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination."

In this exceptionally important Declaration, the member nations of the United Nations expressly agreed that the "principles of the Charter that are included in the Declaration represent basic principles of international law," which means the same responsibilities for all subjects of the international legal order. All of this takes on the most natural coloring when it is borne in mind that there is a responsibility for conscientious implementation of these principles as they are spelled out in this Declaration, and that states are obliged to respect and carry out their international responsibilities, as well as all responsibilities that they have accepted in accordance with the Charter.

So far this analysis has led to the conclusion that Bulgarian behavior has been unsatisfactory toward the Macedonian national minority on Bulgarian territory.

From the Bulgarian side can be heard claims that Bulgaria has never been opposed to the rights of the national minorities in the first place, but that there are no such groups on Bulgarian territory, and therefore, no situation could develop in which Bulgaria would violate international law, or the indicated documents and laws. It is entirely understandable, however,

that Bulgaria cannot select any other course other than the absolute denial of the existence of the Macedonian nationality, even though such a policy comes close to placing Bulgaria in a ludicrous and undefendable position, since it does not want to be in the unenviable position of rejecting general legality and relations in the international community, which now require as obligatory form of relations the respect of human rights and the rights of national minorities. At the same time, Bulgaria cannot escape from enchanted circle of an errant policy, since denial of the existence of the Macedonian national minority on its territory, in essence, represents a denial of the fundamental freedoms and basic rights of that nationality, which are guaranteed by the standards of international law.

12,131

CSO: 2800

WEEKLY DEPLORES 'STRAINED, CONVOLUTED' STATEMENTS

Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian No 1407, 25 Dec 77 p 9 AU

[Article by Miodrag Marovic: "When Foreigners Ask"]

[Excerpts] It has become a nice and useful practice for the highest leaders of the republics and provinces to meet foreign correspondents in Yugoslavia and conduct with them, in front of television cameras, a frank discussion about everything of interest to them.

But there is a question which cannot be avoided. Does not a Yugoslav reader, television viewer and radio listener, enjoying the ripostes of our top politicians and foreign correspondents, sometimes think: How do the journalists from throughout the world know how to ask such neat questions and how to their respondents know how to answer even more neatly? Cannot our journalists who are otherwise known even beyond the borders of Yugoslavia as excellent analysts in their fields also do this? And why do we in our own broadcasts and the press most frequently conduct conversations in a somewhat strained and convoluted manner and frequently at too great a length, too, thus causing boredom? All this seems to be different with foreign journalists: frank, brief, clear.

Of course, any generalization is above all incorrect. There certainly have been examples of proper, pithy, frank and clear dialogs in our domestic practice. Unfortunately, those attributes previously mentioned prevail. Many people say that it will remain so until editorial offices begin to cultivate journalists who know much about certain subjects instead of the present "universal ignorants," as late Mosa Pijade called us 3 decades ago.

Before providing any answers, let us see how and why Yugoslav television viewers, radio listeners and newspaper readers obtain proper information about something that has for a long time been a subject of street gossip and speculation only after questions by foreign journalists. Can one and should one really underestimate the fact that foreign newspapers are freely on sale and world radio stations are listened to in this country, and foreign television programs are watched over a large part of it? When our own information is lacking, one should not be surprised that foreign information circulates, inevitably embellished and complemented with observations by

those who convey it and who gain the reputation of "well informed people." If some such "information" is, for the sake of greater verisimilitude, linked with some titled person, it gains in its power of convincing so that an ordinary man finds it difficult to doubt.

The reason for this certainly should not be searched for in a good or bad interviewer or respondent. The reason is solely the old belief that some person should judge what is "suitable" and what is "not suitable" for our working people to know, without asking at all how much damage may be caused by the fact that only a small number of initiated people know the true dimensions and significance of certain occurrences or events, but a much larger number of people have a completely different picture, thanks to "unofficial information."

Of course, the aim of this column is not to plead for a reporting of that information and speculation which certain newspapers in the world often indulge in and the aim of which is to make an affair, problem or case out of everything, even out of completely unimportant and inessential things, although a timely and true report on our side would certainly reduce the number of these propaganda games concerning our country and limit their scope.

The fear of too much information should cede its place to a constant struggle against disinformation. Information has never constituted a danger to the stability and progress of society. On the contrary, the more information you have, the more people know and they can more validly assess and estimate. Disinformation--if and when it prevails--may harm certain trust and security. Regardless, history shows that the activities of the "fifth columns" of all colors, in the propaganda wars that are underway, actually count upon a flood of their own information there where true information is absent.

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

CROATIAN OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED ON PROPOSED RELIGIOUS LAW

Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 23 Dec 77 LD

/Interview with Ivan Lalic, president of the Croatian Assembly's Commission for relations with religious communities, by Milan Puljiz, station commentator, date and place not given--recorded/

[Text] Puljiz: The proposed law on the legal position of religious communities is now being publicly debated in the Socialist Republic of Croatia. Comrade Lalic, would you say briefly for the Zagreb radio listeners what this law regulates in legal terms and what is new in it?

Lalic: This proposed law, in essence, represents the elaboration of the attitudes of the constitution on religious freedom and on relations between the state and church in our republic. So far, we in Croatia have not had any special regulations elaborating the constitutional attitudes and there has always been in this respect, so to say, a legal vacuum. Thus, we have tried with this law to deal with the most essential elements which are relevant to the regulation of relations in this sphere, such as, for instance, the protection of the freedom of conscience and religion, the question of the conditions for the founding of religious communities, the prevention of religious communities exceeding the framework of religious activity and particularly the problem of politization. Furthermore, the founding of schools for training priests, the publishing activity of religious communities and the like.

We have not submitted this law to public debate--we have sent it to all socio-political factors in the republic and to all religious communities. The public debate will last approximately until the end of January next year. At the end of the debate we shall carefully study all suggestions, all comments and proposals and on their basis compile the final proposal which we shall then submit to the Croatian assembly and the Executive Council for normal procedure.

Puljiz: The attitude of the state toward religion, the church and the believers has been up to now more or less precisely regulated by our constitutions: the Constitution of the SFRY and the Constitution of the Socialist

Republic of Croatia and the declaration of human rights. Yet, despite this there have been in this context some misunderstandings and some difficulties. Please, tell us which difficulties have been repeating themselves, which have come up most frequently?

Lalic: You see, there are the problems which even with the best of will cannot be regulated and resolved by legislative regulations. I will try to point out some of these problems.

I will begin with the problems of politization of religious communities. In our country, this politization manifests itself in various forms, such as the individual aspects of the religious and the nation, then, for instance, the [word indistinct] political (?nature) of the writing of the religious press, the abuse of certain religious rites for the purpose of holding speeches with political content, and so forth. As the latest example of politization, I will point out the attempt by certain forces in the Catholic Church in our country to use the Bishop's Conference of Yugoslavia and to send through this conference an appeal to the Belgrade Conference in which they would point to the threat to religious freedoms in Yugoslavia.

When they did not succeed in using the Bishops' Conference, they sought in various avenues and facilities offered them outside the borders of our country. I personally believe that the least they, who took this path, had in mind was the threat to religious freedoms in Yugoslavia. They had evidently aimed at some other goals and intentions, political intentions.

However, you see, when we speak of religious freedoms in our country then they should be clarified at long last. As for the Yugoslav Communists, we have been clear about this for a long time--that is, there can be no socialism without genuine freedom and there can be no genuine freedom without the freedom of religion and of conscience. Therefore, as regard us, matters are clear and there are no problems. But, I stress, that religious communities in this country can be fully autonomous and free under two conditions.

The first condition is that they should rid themselves of politics and of individuals who would like to lead them along the political path. And the second is that the path of our constitution be applied persistently and consistently in everyday practice. Thus, he who really cares about religious freedom and the free activity of religious communities must bear in mind these facts. If this is not the case, I maintain that something else is involved, something which we have mentioned a little while ago, that is, politics and not religion. In this connection, I must point out an interesting--I would even say symptomatic--element and that is that when we turn to religious communities and point out to them the need for a more constructive attitude toward the social community, this usually described as--politics. And, you see, when one of our well-known leaders of the LCY had said in this context something about the church in the past always having served the ruling class and that the question which arose was whether it would at long last place itself in the service of the working class, the [words indistinct] and practically accused him of wanting to make the church a handmaid of our policy.



I am stressing here that we need no handmaids whatsoever because Croats believe that a policy which is not capable of pulling after it the broad popular masses and of turning into a movement of these masses is doomed to failure.

However, it is interesting to note that when we want something then this is described as politics. And, when the church is really politicized and when it really places itself in the service of someone's policy, this is then--religion. I can give you a few examples. When we, for instance, ask the (?well-known) people in the church how could it be explained that the Catholic press in Croatia had not mentioned with a single word the 30th anniversary of the country's liberation, we are told: this would mean bringing the church into politics. Or, when we ask the question how could it be explained that they had not marked Tito's jubilees with a single word, they also say this is politics. Or, when we ask the question how could they explain the fact that individual priests who work among our workers abroad do not respond to the invitations issued by our official missions to take part in the celebrations of the National Day, the day of the republic, then they also say this is politics. And, when some of these priests meet with political emigres, even with war criminals, then this is--religion. Then, the war criminals are for them no longer war criminals, then they are just believers, and so forth.

Puljiz: In Croatia, Comrade Lalic, several meetings on the subject of the attitude toward religion, the church and the believers were held this year. The so-called fifth subject of the program of ideopolitical training of members of the organization of the League of Communists is known. At one of such meetings at the Central Committee, Mitja Ribicic, president of the Socialist Alliance of Slovenia, said approximately the following: There is also a sectarian attitude toward citizens who are believers. And he said literally that sectarianism is nearly as dangerous as clericalism, that is, turning religion into political action. Tell us, please, what are the reasons and real consequences, or rather dangerous consequences, of the sectarian attitude.

Lalic: Unfortunately, there is sectarianism and it represents for us a considerable difficulty in the struggle for the implementation of our policy. I must state here that sectarianism represents another form of deviation from our policy in relation to clericalism. In our assessments, clericalism and sectarianism implement each other nicely and even feed one another. The reasons for sectarianism are, however, deeper and a bit more complex. We do not have the time now to go fully into this. As a rule, the practice has shown that they who are sectarians are not only sectarians in this sphere. They are sectarians in our country, they are also sectarians in relation to self-management, to the law on associated labor, and so forth. It happens to us that precisely these sectarians sometimes create a certain deception of religious freedoms being threatened in Yugoslavia. But, I must, nevertheless, stress that this sectarianism has not assumed the proportions ascribed to it.

Here I shall give you a few examples and you will see. Let us begin with the problem of constructing religious buildings. In our country, attempts are made to create the impression that we do not allow religious buildings to be built, in particular in cities. However, the fact is that in Croatia in the past few years over 120 new religious buildings have been erected, not to mention the number that have been modernized. There are a few cases which we have not succeeded in resolving so far. However, all these cases can be counted on the fingers of one hand.

As a typical example I would mention the Church of St Peter in Split. Unfortunately, we have not yet succeeded in resolving this problem. I believe that we shall resolve this problem too. There are several such problems in the republic. Or, let's take the problem of educational workers who are believers. As far as I know there has been only one case that has been exploited so much that it has far exceeded the frameworks and borders of our country. Or, take the example of religious teaching in schools. Attempts are usually made to prove that children who attend religious instruction in this country are treated in a different way, that they are children of some kind of a higher rank, and so forth. I admit that there are problems here of individual cases when special treatment and behavior is adopted toward these children, but, please, something else is forgotten. It is being overlooked that these children go every day freely to the religious instruction and that there are no problems in this connection. I would say that in our practice there are at times not merely certain ugly concepts but even excess types of behavior.

I will mention only a few examples so that you can see (how this leads) even to tragicomic situations. In a place at a funeral--or during the funeral--the priest and some people are arguing whether at the head of the funeral procession there would be the cross or the laurel wreath. Or, for instance, in a municipality, they call the priest to come to the municipality to tell him that he carry out 10 percent of funerals according to religious rites, and so forth. I am stressing that these are not merely stupidities but impermissible things which exceed the frameworks of our policy and I believe that we must oppose these phenomena more energetically.

Puljiz: The proposed law on the legal position of religious communities in Croatia, Comrade Lalic, is now publicly debated. As a rule, proposals, amendments and supplements are expected. However, there is also fear about this law becoming some kind of encouragement for the liberalist attitude toward the church and religion.

Lalic: Well, listen, there is a certain danger not merely of liberalism but, I would say, also of other deviations. But, I stress here that the law means consistent application of our policy of the attitude toward religion and the church--a policy which we have literally not changed since the war and which we have after all expressed in our constitution.

Puljiz: The society of theologians of Croatia was recently founded in Zagreb. They have also published their statute. Allow me to remind you of some of its

articles. Thus, Article 8 says: The society achieves its purpose and carries out its tasks in the spirit of the Gospel, according to the guidelines of the Second Vatican Council and in line with the principles of our self-managing socialist society. Article 9 says: In its work, the society is guided by the Constitution and the law of the SFRY and of the Socialist Republic of Croatia. This statute [word indistinct] between the SFRY and the Holy See by the canonic law and other positive provisions of the Catholic Church in cooperation with the hierarchy and respect of its competences. Article 11 says: The publication, information, work and business organs of the society is the "Christian Present" Center for Council research, documentation and information in Zagreb. It goes on: The center is organized and works according to the law on associated labor. Please, can we have your comment?

Lalic: It is a good thing that you have asked this because this is a very interesting question. [word indistinct] I, too, have observed this and I admit that I (?don't) see anything bad in this. This is the first time in our country that the gospel and socialist self-management have come together in one spot, so to say. The founders of the society, in my view, have achieved the integration of their Christian and social loyalties. In other words, they have remained Christians and religious officials and have also accepted socialist self-managing society as their own. Thus, in this way they have found (?the method) of achieving their goals, both as theologians and as members of the church on one hand, and as members of the social community on the other. Thus, should this society act on these foundations and develop an activity in which the interests, both of the church to which they belong and of the social community, would combine, we shall be very satisfied. However, I think that it is too early to make an assessment. We shall see what the practice will show and what their practical work will be like.

Puljiz: The assembly of the Socialist Republic of Croatia [words indistinct] law on the legal position of the religious communities in the republic. Tell us, please, what is expected of this law.

Lalic: I personally believe that the law could be a very efficient instrument of our policy but under the condition that this law is accompanied by relevant social and political practice, because without it, the law would remain [words indistinct]. However, I do not deceive myself into thinking that the law is a magic wand. There will always be problems in practice which will have to be resolved through social practice and it is here that I have in mind the very important question of the attitude of religious communities on one hand and of socialist structure on the other--how will they approach the problems and in which way will they overcome them?

Puljiz: Comrade Lalic, thank you for this talk.